



COMINTERN (SH)

Declaration of War on Maoists

in four parts

(1) , (2) , (3) , (4)

**Long live the unity of the world communist
movement !**

**Down with Maoism !
Long live Stalinism-Hoxhaism !**

**Decision of the Communist International
(Stalinist-Hoxhaists)**

February 6, 2011

**Today it is impossible to bring about the victory of the socialist world
revolution and to fulfill the tasks of world socialism,
it is impossible to strengthen the internationalist unity of the world
proletariat,
it is impossible to fulfill its world-historical mission
without the complete break with Maoism,
without explaining to the masses the inevitability of drawing a
principled demarcation-line towards the
revisionist Mao Zedong Ideas .**

**We defeated the Soviet revisionism and we shall defeat Chinese
revisionism as well.**

**There cannot be any unification between the ideology of the Maoists
and Marxism-Leninism !**

**There cannot be any unification between the proletarian and the bourgeois
ideology !**

**Down with all currents of reconciliation between Marxism-Leninism and
Maoism !**

So called „*Marxism-Leninism-Maoism*“

**is neo-revisionism, is anti-revisionism in words and revisionism in
deeds !**

Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism

- this is definitely the genuine world-proletarian ideology of today.

Anything else is bourgeois ideology and has to be defeated.

**With the beginning of this new decade, the Comintern (SH) makes a long-overdue
and historically important step concerning the continuation of the struggle against
revisionist Mao Zedong - Ideas.**

The Comintern (SH) is sticking to the old correct line of the world communist movement:

Revisionism was, is and still remains as the main danger in the world communist movement.

Essence of revisionism is nothing but bourgeois ideology.

At present the neo-revisionist currents are dominant.

And – after its ugly face was unmasked through our principled Hoxhaist struggle against modern revisionism – the bourgeoisie was forced to exhibit some „beauty treatment“, some „face-lifting“ of its old battered ideology, to give it a new and more attractive „red“ and „revolutionary“ outlook, to label it with the anti-revisionist grade of „Marxism-Leninism“ - solely for the purpose of deceiving the revolutionary working class and to take it in tow.

However, in spite of all its re-newed appearances and masquerading, - revisionism is like it always was:

„Socialism“ in words – capitalism in deeds.

And so we consequently define neo-revisionism of today, as:

„Anti-revisionism“ in words and revisionism in deeds ! Neo-revisionism is restoration of revisionism !

Neo-revisionism serves imperialism to maintain its world hegemony, to maintain global exploitation and oppression and to prevent the world proletariat from smashing the capitalist world system by the world socialist revolution, to hinder the workers to establish their world dictatorship and to build up world socialism for moving on towards world communism.

The revisionists try to prolong the existence of world capitalism. They try to dissuade the world proletariat, the proletariat of each country from the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, from the ideas of the five Classics, from the true science of the world revolution.

They are enemies of the world-dictatorship of the proletariat and the global class struggle, traitors of world-socialism and world-communism.

They also try to fabricate some pseudo-Marxist, pseudo-socialist and pseudo-democratic "theories". Supposedly all these "theories" are "updates" and "further advanced" additions of „Marxism-Leninism“, tailored to the period that runs through humanity at present – just like the Mao Zedong - Ideas. All these anti-Marxists claim that the phenomena of the present period would not fit to the period in which Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha had lived and fought. All these "theories" are fakes. Their only purpose is to adapt the proletarian ideology constantly to the bourgeois ideology. Their aim is to subordinate the proletariat under the rule of the bourgeoisie. And reportedly, the predictions of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism would not comply with the requirements of present conditions. Principles and rules of the revolution would be „disproportionate“ and „outdated“. All these "theories" are based on these false allegations. They have been made to dissuade the proletariat from socialist world revolution, are masquerades of bourgeois ideology, so as if it would be allegedly "proletarian ideology".

In general, the revisionists try to defeat Marxism-Leninism with its own weapons!

In general, the current revisionist tactics of the bourgeoisie consists of infiltrating and penetrating the communist world movement more easily by putting on a new "Marxist-Leninist", „anti-revisionist“ cloak of invisibility. By means of this neo-revisionist mask the bourgeoisie tries to infect the proletarian ideology with the bourgeois ideology , to undermine it, to decompose it and finally to replace it. The neo-revisionists really pursue the old path of the modern revisionists – though they promise solemnly that they struggle „against“ them.

In particular the revisionists try to defeat proletarian *anti-revisionism* with its own weapons.

This is the neo-revisionist tactics of the Maoists, Trotzkyites etc. !

In particular, the revisionist tactics of the bourgeoisie consists of adapting permanently the anti-revisionist struggle of the revolutionary world proletariat to the revisionist struggle of the world bourgeoisie. Any further development and strengthening

of our anti-revisionist struggle is encountered by the bourgeoisie, on her part, through a further development and strengthening of revisionism. It is a principle of class struggle that the world bourgeoisie and the world proletariat are constantly fighting *for* respectively fighting *against* anti-revisionism - developing always new forms and shapes in this struggle. And our declaration on Anti-Maoism – which we have made today – is just an expression of this particular tactics – is the answer to the Maoists who undermine constantly our Marxist-Leninist, anti-revisionist struggle against the neo-revisionist influence of the world bourgeoisie within the workers' and communist world movement.

The dialectics of the anti-revisionist struggle is its permanent further changing in the course of the class-struggle which includes changing of old forms and means – respectively replaced - by new ones. Revisionism is monophormic – is casting its skin. Old revisionist leaders were replaced by new ones who appear on the „Marxist-Leninist“ scene in the course of its degeneration and regeneration, etc.; some revisionist movements appear, others disappear, etc. But revisionist movements, in itself, exist as long as capitalism exists – and even longer. Therefore – any lowering of our efforts in the anti-revisionist struggle, underestimating any revisionist hues, is always the greatest danger for us Marxist-Leninists. With the fall of the last socialist country – the danger of revisionism did NOT fall simultaneously. Once compromised, revisionism always regenerates unavoidably within the ongoing and increasing world-revolutionary movement of the proletariat. Within the Communist world movement there is always a revisionist mainstream accompanied by several other branches of revisionism. But it is not to be excluded and must moreover be expected that a secondary branch develops towards the mainstream, that the old mainstream can be displaced by a new one, etc. The correct determination of the most dangerous branch of revisionism within the Communist World Movement is of great importance for the victory or defeat in the struggle against revisionism. But this is not enough. It is also important the analysis concerning the different developments within all the revisionist streaming, the weakening of the one streaming and the strengthening of the other streaming. The answer to the question of the changing main revisionist danger in the World Communist Movement can only be the result of the scientific analysis in the light of dialectical and historical materialism. Processes and changing within the different revisionist world camps must be determined both in theory and practice. Developments in the revisionist world camps cannot be disconnected from the developments within the capitalist world camp. Otherwise, we cannot earnestly speak about correctly leading our new global anti-revisionist class-struggle.

Today, our struggle against revisionism is not the same in comparison with our

old struggle against modern revisionism which began with the 60ies of the last century. The revisionists made new experiences and we Marxist-Leninist as well and in first line the objective conditions are not quite the same. It would be a great mistake if we would not update and sharpen our old weapons against modern revisionism in times of the last century. This mistake would only serve the world bourgeoisie in her struggle against the world proletariat. Meanwhile most of the revisionists „agree“ (in words) with our former arguments in the struggle against modern revisionism („*that's marked-off-historically!*“) but most of them disagree with our continuous struggle against new shapes of Maoism, Trotzkyism etc. Neo-revisionists defend Maoism allegedly as an „anti-revisionist“ weapon „against“ the bourgeoisie which is - instead - a well-known revisionist weapon against the *proletariat*.

The Comintern (SH) states that the present anti-revisionist class-struggle is constantly in danger to be successively assimilated by revisionism. The demarcation line between revisionism and Marxism-Leninism softened with every new day. Stop it !

The Comintern (SH) states, too, that this is not only a phenomenon in this or that country, however a danger which occurs on a global stage. That's why we decided to draw a principled demarcation line against the tendency of revisionism which leads to the assimilation of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement. The Most dangerous revisionist tools of this tendency of assimilation are Maoism and Trotzkyism.

Maoists raised their „tactics of many lines“ (or at least „tactics of two lines“) on the level of principles. They try to prove this theoretically on the basis of the Mao Zedong-Ideas. This can be compared with Trotzkyism - raising fractionism on the level of principles. Both these forms of bourgeois ideology are used to legalize anti-Marxist positions within the ranks of the communists. We call them tactics to "have a foothold" within the communist ranks - used as a tool to lever us out. Both Maoism and Trotzkyism are ideologies which serve the liquidation of communism in theory and practice. They are counter-revolutionary ideologies. In words both ideologies allege that they are „contra-dictionary“, however, in deeds they are essentially the same. Everybody knows that Mao was a master of Trotskyite tactics in his struggle against the Marxist-Leninists.

The Mao Zedong - Ideas are thus expandable in any direction and interpretable and not clearly determined as compared with Marxism-Leninism. Maoism opens a wide range of „interpretation“ - suitable for opportunism of all hues. This is a special trait of Maoism and gives Maoism some sort of self-preservation in the struggle against Marxism-Leninism by all kinds of evasive maneuvers.

Comrade Enver Hoxha defined the Mao Zedong-Ideas as follows:

The Ideas of Mao Zedong mean: " that all the bourgeois, capitalist, Marxist, pseudo-Marxist, revisionist, Trotzkyite, anarchist views in every field should be allowed to develop freely, and there should be discussion about them."

"They advocate the development of the '*theory*' of '*letting a hundred flowers blossom an a hundred schools contend*'. This means that all the Confucian and bourgeois-capitalist philosophical currents should flourish and this pragmatic, capitalist, idealist ideology, this «Mao Zedong-ideas», is covered with the Marxist-Leninist cloak."

"Chinese revisionism will be a very complicated, mystical and cunning grafting, because the Chinese will steadily advance in the defence of their eclectic revisionist theories. A characteristic of the Chinese revisionist ideology will be the creation of great confusion on a national scale, not merely to extinguish the revolutionary movements and to discredit Marxism-Leninism, but, at the same time, this eclecticism will also cause confusion in the ideology of other revisionists, especially those who support Soviet revisionism."

**[... of course, to the advantage of the Chinese revisionism and of the own hegemony –
remark of the author]**

(Enver Hoxha, „Reflections on China“, Volume II, October 14, 1977).

The result of this ideological, inextricable knot - this global "cocktail of leftist ideologies" , catered for all leftists' taste - led to nothing but confusing, vast, prevailing and revisionist-eclectic "unity-mush" of ideologies . Mao's revisionist tactics "Let flourish 1000 flowers!" - this was indeed his neo-revisionist weapon against the Leninist slogan: "Bolshevism is a tactics for all !" Look at the current condition of the old Marxist-Leninist World Movement and you can state that the Maoist seed bears fruit.

"Chinese revisionism is that variant of modern revisionism which aims to bring about the linking of the various forms of revisionism everywhere in the world and to establish its own hegemony" (Enver Hoxha, "*Reflections on China*", Volume II, page 677, October 31, 1977)

This Maoist tactics has contributed greatly to the split of the revolutionary struggle of the world proletariat and its alliance with the forces of revolutionary liberation of oppressed peoples. Maoism is responsible for many hues of the well-known ideological disorientation, for ideological confusion. Maoism spelled trouble, which caused splits and degeneration within the ranks of the revolutionary world movement. Maoism is

increasingly becoming a major revisionist danger within the world revolutionary movement. Most of the movements, which base themselves on the revolutionary armed struggle, are not without Maoist influence. The Maoists try to occupy the leadership over armed revolutionary struggles with the purpose of their liquidation, respectively, with the aim to integrate them into the interests of the Chinese bourgeoisie. This is what happened in Nepal and in some other countries. The „Three-World-Theory“ is the Chinese „theory“ of neo-colonialism, is a „theory“ of Chinese social-imperialist world hegemony.

It was the case in times of Comrade Enver Hoxha, but today the Soviet revisionism can no longer be considered as the *main* revisionist threat in a world's scale (though its influence is still existing, and unconditional struggle must be continued against the dangerous restoration of Soviet modern revisionism !). At latest in times of the replacement of the revisionist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the open capitalist one – when capitalist restoration was completed - , the Soviet revisionists lost more and more their dominant influence in the communist movement. There was not a dissolution of the revisionist forces but a regrouping within its own ranks. Just as capitalism recovers from economical crisis, also revisionism recovers from ideological crisis. However, the Marxist-Leninist World Movement could not take advantage of this historical opportunity which appeared the phase of revisionist regrouping because – simultaneously – the revisionists in Albania and the degenerated Marxist-Leninist parties in the world destroyed the backbone of the Hoxhaist World movement. And this was NOT accidentally. This was expression of the anti-communist strategy of the world bourgeoisie: The complete and final integration of former revisionist countries into the capitalist world cannot be successful without the liquidation of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement. The world bourgeoisie was conscious about the necessity of building up a new revisionist bulwark in the case if the Communist World Movement would not fall. Any disarming of revisionist weapons would strengthen the Communist World Movement.

When the correct struggle of Comrade Enver Hoxha against Maoism was discredited by the Albanian revisionists, in general, and with the fall of Socialist Albania, in particular, the Maoist movements all over the world got new impetus. So it is Maoism which became more and more dangerous within the world communist movement after the fall of the last socialist country, after the fall of the Marxist-Leninist world center. We Marxist-Leninists may never forget that Maoism was also responsible for the weakening of Socialist Albania, for the weakening of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement - to the advantage of world capitalism's struggle against Socialist Albania. Splitting our

communist movement was a disservice of the Maoists towards imperialism.

Of course, the Maoists began to use all the collected arsenals of Soviet, Yugoslav and all the other revisionist weapons to build up new global eclectic collecting ponds, all in different "combinations" with the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism according to the different conditions on different continents and in different countries. The historical moment of the communist world movement which was weakened by the loss of its world-revolutionary center – this was indeed an advantageous moment for the regeneration of the anti-Marxist-Leninist movements in general and for that of the Maoist movements in particular.

Concerning the Maoist „*Theory of the Three Worlds*“ there are different streaming within the Maoist movement - a result of the principled struggle of comrade Enver Hoxha and the Marxist-Leninist World Movement against it. Some propagate this "theory" openly, others keep silence on it. Some others lay the blame on Deng Hsiao-ping to come to Mao's defense. However, the world proletariat will not be duped by this maneuvers of confusion.

Fact is that it was Mao Zedong himself who rehabilitated Deng Hsia-ping - these two friends of the American imperialists. They raised both the "*theory of three worlds*" from the baptism. The centrist position of the one was complementary to the rightist position of the other. You cannot fight against Chinese revisionism if you do not fight against ALL its currents in common, the centrist, the rightist and the „leftist“ ones, which are all fighting under the banner of Mao Zedong. This "theory" led directly to the Chinese great-power chauvinism. And it is the Chinese leaders of today who have raised this "theory" as the state doctrine.

We Stalinist-Hoxhaists have a principled and uncompromising stand towards the Maoist "Three Worlds Theory".

Namely

that the "Three World Theory" has totally revised the basic teaching of Marxism-Leninism:

Marxism-Leninism is the ideology of the proletariat, a class-ideology. Marxism-Leninism is the never-failing compass for the class-analysis of the situation in the world, for the determination of the general-line, for the strategy and tactics of the socialist revolution in the single countries as well as for the socialist world revolution.

that the "Three Worlds Theory" - instead of Marxism-Leninism - denies the class-character of the major contradictions in the contemporary world:

that it considers the antagonistic contradiction of capitalism and socialism to be outdated;

that it denies that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie still exists (estimated in the best case as a "minor issue");

that it ignores the class-character of the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism;

that it supports the forces of reaction, the puppets of imperialism;

that it does not differ the contradiction between the various imperialist countries as contradictions among enemies of the proletariat; (instead of that: speaks about contradictions between "friends and enemies" of the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat and the peoples of the world);

that the "Three Worlds Theory" is finally a remake of the Khrushchevite's revisionist "new world strategy" (only in a somewhat different guise) which pursues the goal, to stifle and sabotage the struggle of the proletariat for the socialist world revolution.

Enver Hoxha stressed that the world socialist revolution can not win if the "Three Worlds Theory" will not be liquidated.

Enver Hoxha defined the battle line against the "Three Worlds Theory" as follows:

Hence the peoples who are fighting for liberation must strengthen their unity with the working class and, under the leadership of the working class, fight for their liberation from the internal capitalist bourgeoisie and its main props — American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. (Enver Hoxha: *"Reflections on China"*, Volume II , March 22, 1977).

That was a correct Marxist-Leninist general-line. It is now complemented by the struggle against the strengthening of the Chinese social-imperialism and its Maoist ideology. This correct Stalinist-Hoxhaist general-line is currently valid for the uprisings in the Arab countries in particular and for all oppressed peoples in general. We live in the epoch of the proletarian, socialist world revolution, in the epoch of the dictatorship of the world proletariat and not in the old era of bourgeois-democratic revolutions. From the very beginning, the Maoism had betrayed the socialist world revolution. Maoists are traitors of world-Bolshevism and this is proved by historical facts. The official Chinese party and state leaders follow openly this Maoist line whereas the different Maoist movements in the world hide behind "revolutionary phrase". Both tactics belong together. They cannot be separated from each other. They complement one another, are expressing the aspirations of Chinese world domination .

With our today's decision we just recognize and confirm these historical facts:

The U.S. imperialism is (still) the dominant old imperialism, the main enemy of the world proletariat and the peoples. And we all know that Maoism had abandoned this

most important definition of the general line of the Communist World Movement. It was Mao who began to betray communism when he declared the main enemy of the world proletariat and the oppressed peoples - as FRIEND !! Co-operation with the main class-enemy means: Marxism-Leninism and Maoism are therefore totally antagonistic ideologies. It is impossible to unite and merge them.

But the communist general-line did never necessarily mean that this enemy will remain eternally as the dominant one. As we can see, the predominant position of US-imperialism is about to crumble – at latest during the self-made world crisis. We clearly see a trend among the world hegemonic capitalist powers: the weakening of the U.S.A. and a strengthening of China. However, in stating this fact, we cannot exclude the possibility of US-imperialism's revival. The restoration of US- imperialism's world-domination is a danger which would be a great challenge for the socialist world revolution and even for the beginning epoch of world socialism. US- imperialism can absolutely recover despite or because of the increasing power of the Chinese social-imperialists - allied with new upcoming imperialist countries (IE. Brazil).

In case of replacement of American imperialism by the social-imperialism of China, the Comintern (SH) would not hesitate to declare the Chinese social-imperialism the main enemy No. 1, no matter with China's „socialist“ mask or without. This would not change our decision.

The Chinese social imperialism is no longer the „junior partner“ of US-imperialism, although younger than the former Russian social-imperialism. For a long time, China replaced the position of the former Soviet social imperialism, who had fought for world hegemony in rivalry with U.S. Imperialism. However, let's not forget that Russian's social-imperialism derived from the destruction of the dictatorship of the proletariat, whereas Chinese social imperialism derived from strengthening the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, because proletarian dictatorship did never exist in China. No Stalinist-Hoxhaist can ignore this historical difference. Why not ? Because Maoism can never be the further advancement of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism which proved the power of the proletarian dictatorship in practice. Maoism never proved this in practice. It proved to be *unable* to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and to construct socialism. Therefore the world proletariat, who strives for world dictatorship and world socialism, must abandon the „Mao Zedong-Ideas“. And Hoxhaism ? Yes, Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism proved to be capable to realize proletarian dictatorship and proletarian socialism in practice. Therefore Hoxhaism – *and not Maoism* – is the further advanced teaching of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism. Enver Hoxha is the 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism – *and not Mao Zedong*.

“The Chinese revisionists are in no way different from the Soviet revisionists in their stands and actions towards us and towards the world — they are just as much revisionist, just as much social-imperialist, the only difference being that they are new social-imperialists who have to create that colonial strength at which they aim. (Enver Hoxha, *Reflections of China*, Volume II, December 8, 1977).

And today China *is* already a colonial power, and one of the largest and most rapidly growing in the world, not only in Africa.

Enver Hoxha:

„The peoples of Africa and the peoples of the world are passing through phases that are making them conscious of the need to fight all those who try to fleece and exploit them, internal and external enemies of every hue, whether American, Soviet or Chinese. The aim of all the latter is to plunder these peoples and to destroy their autochthonous cultures, to crush them so that they cannot rise, cannot advance economically or from the cultural standpoint,, and cannot raise their well-being in freedom and independence and under genuine sovereignty“ (Enver Hoxha, „The Superpowers“, Tirana 1986, page 468 – 469).

The current world-position of Chinese imperialism – which is about to outdistance the Western capitalism - proves that the theory of comrade Enver Hoxha on the two superpowers is still valid though to be modified under currently changing conditions. And in the context of this new position of Chinese social-imperialism, we communists must learn to understand and to perform the correct continuation of Enver Hoxha's struggle against Maoism. “

“A merciless struggle must be waged against these two superpowers, without giving way on principles. We must deepen the contradictions between the two of them without taking the side of one or the other. The situations must always be analysed in connection with the circumstances created in the world, and such tactics must be used that do not come into opposition to our strategy, or combat it. Our great slogan, «Proletarians of all countries, unite!» must not remain a dead letter ” (August 23, 1973, “*Reflections on China* ”, Volume II, Tirana 1979).

In other words, the world proletariat has its own strategy and tactics. For its own liberation it needs the socialist world revolution and not to become a political football of world imperialism whereas Mao wanted China to become a competing force as an imperialist superpower and for this purpose he united China with the USA. Though Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote this on the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, it does not harm its further validity. Now, the superpower of the Chinese social-imperialists occupied the place of the superpower of the Soviet social imperialists. The law of the two superpowers has thus in essence not changed, it is still the law of predatory war, the law of the enslavement of peoples, the law of exploitation and oppression of the world proletariat, the law of counter-revolution.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has unmasked Maoism as an ideology of the Chinese social-imperialism – striving for world domination.

Over a period of fifty years, Mao Tsetung and his associates built up a strategy and tactics not for the triumph of the revolution under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, but

for the triumph of China as a great world power. (Enver Hoxha, "Reflections on China" , Volume II, December 31, 1976)

We have not forgotten the visits of Kissinger, Nixon, Ford, in Beijing! The Maoists know very well that the collaboration with the main class-enemy No. 1 in the world did not start after the death of Mao Zedong. It was he himself, who hatched this treacherous and abhorrent line of collaboration against the world proletariat. It was he himself, who implemented this counter-revolutionary line in political practice. These are historical facts. And today ? Fact is :

While the blood of the Arab insurgents is shed on the streets (by the Arab counter-revolution - backed by the American imperialists with billions of dollars), the Chinese have secret conversations in Washington. They talk about the redistribution of their spheres of influence with the aim of exploiting and oppressing the peoples of the world.

Mao Zedong did never support revolutionary national liberation struggles of peoples against both the superpowers. He supported the bloody imperialism of the USA as well as its bloody dogs in the colonial and neo-colonial countries. And in Beijing, it was not only comrade Enver Hoxha who was welcomed by Mao Zedong. In Beijing, Mao Zedong organized an endless coming and going of the revisionist and capitalist leaders of the whole world. Everybody - who applauded to Mao's China - was welcomed in Beijing - both the revolutionaries and the counter-revolutionaries (the latter at most). Once upon a time, the American imperialists were welcomed by Mao with great pomp while, today, the Chinese social-imperialists were welcomed in Washington with great pomp. The negotiations are the same – behind the back of the world proletariat and the revolution, behind the back of the liberation struggle of the peoples.

These present facts justify Enver Hoxha's Marxist-Leninist foresight. Independent from the future constellation of world imperialism, independent from Chinese imperialist influence in the world, Enver Hoxha taught us, that the superpowers and the imperialist and capitalist countries will be weakened steadily - because of the deepening crisis within the capitalist world - whereas world-capitalism has created its own grave-digger, the world proletariat. And this is also true concerning the international influence of Maoism. The world proletariat is the grave-digger of Maoism.

Concerning the Arab peoples Comrade Enver Hoxha had foreseen:

„However, we are witnesses to the fact that the flow of events in the Middle East is not going in the way that the imperialists, the social-imperialists and world reaction desire. The Arab peoples of this great oil-bearing zone have awoken, have risen and are boldly demanding to take their fate into their own hands. In many Arab countries a just struggle is being waged against all types of imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism and their economic-political and military potentates. This is a positive development which all should support, because it represents revolutionary progress, the future, and responds to the interests and desires of peoples who are aware of their oppression, who live in poverty and ignorance, even though the countries in which they live were the cradle of a brilliant civilization and contain great wealth which, if it were not plundered by foreigners, could bring them well-being, longer life, and the capacity to defend themselves against their savage enemies.

When this resolute and just struggle of the Arab peoples against world imperialism and its local tools and lackeys, this mounting revolution, frees itself from the negative aspects of the religion which is still clinging to dominant positions, which plays an inhibiting role and frequently incites wars between Shia, Sunni and other factions, then it will certainly end with the victory of the Arab peoples more than a hundred million strong, and will mark a new stage and a new page in the history of mankind.

(Enver Hoxha , "Reflections on the Middle East," Page 506 - 507).

"Under the current severe circumstances, only the popular uprisings in the Arab countries works wonders."

"I like and I respect the Arab people, because they are progressive minded, freedom loving and combative." (Enver Hoxha)

In the contrary, Mao invited the reactionary leaders of the Arab world to visit him in Beijing, because they were useful for China's social imperialist ambitions. China did never support the popular revolutions in the Arab world but supported the Arab (and Israeli!) Counter-revolution (IE. China supplied both Iran and Israel with weapons). As everywhere in the world it belongs to the Chinese strategy to provoke wars in order to earn blood-money and to take advantage from weakening its rivals on the world market.

Concerning today's revolution in Egypt, the Chinese social-imperialists speak openly about "lawlessness" and chaos "and parrot the words of the imperialist's blood-dog Mubarak: "Me or the chaos ".

The Chinese leaders fear revolution in their own social-fascist country. The Maoists are anxious about the Marxist-Leninist, anti-Maoist socialist revolution in China and all over the world. And this anxiety is absolutely justified. The victory of the Chinese socialist revolution is impossible without destroying the myth of Mao Zedong.

China supplied the North African counter-revolution with weapons - to suppress the peoples revolution (for over 20 years) - (at first only in exchange for oil and gas).

Today, China has already broad impact on the entire North African economies. China possesses own mining rights, oil- and gas drilling rights, production-facilities and own representatives of commerce in North Africa. China is today, for example, monopolistic oil producer - exporter and importer of Sudan. This oil is soaked with blood of the Sudanese civil war. The Chinese social imperialists hold their hands protectively on the corrupt, reactionary Sudanese bourgeoisie. But the Sudan is no exception: China imports the bulk of its oil from the "trouble spots of the world", strengthens there the bourgeoisie, which oppresses the working class and other working people. Hiding behind the label of a „Third-World-Country“ (to inspire the peoples with trust), Mao Zedong paved the way to a neo-colonial super power, on which the fetidness of the old colonialists of the imperialist world does not stick.

China can less and less uphold its tactical restraint out of respect towards the relations with the U.S.A. In late January 2011, at the World Economic Forum in Davos (Switzerland), representatives of the Chinese leaders predicted the "End of the Western World domination". China's social-imperialism rears its ugly head and this means: increasing its aggressive, war-mongering character. „The East-Wind shall dominate the West-Wind!“ - This is the old imperialist slogan of Mao Zedong, and it is, in first line, directed against proletarian internationalism.

In some respect the Chinese prediction may be right, but there they're mistaken if they believe in their own world domination. The times have gone when the one imperialist powers replaced each other. Time has come when the world proletariat shall remove the unavoidability of re-newed world imperialism. It is rather the world proletariat which opens the new epoch of its proletarian world domination - namely on the ruins of any kind of imperialist world power. The revolutionary upheavals in the Arab world will inevitably revolutionize the whole world. The Arab revolution is the prelude to the socialist world revolution. And this will be anything else but a happy start for China's world power. For us Stalinist Hoxhaists it is undeniable that the coming world revolution will have a deep meaning for the future of the world. It will be a proletarian-oriented, will be a socialist revolution. The world proletarian revolution is unstoppable. Its momentum will be speed up by the peoples' revolutions in the Arab world. The peoples' revolutions in the Arab countries announce not only the liberation of the world's imperialist enslavement of peoples. This is only the beginning! The proletarian slogan is: arming of the proletariat with the purpose: to defeat, to expropriate and to disarm the bourgeoisie. This is the slogan which we propagate not only in Arab countries, but on a global scale. The victory of the proletariat, socialism on a global scale is unavoidable.

We know all too well that the contradictions between the U.S. and China shall more and more increase and inevitably break out. This is good and not bad for the acceleration of the world revolutionary process. And we have to use these contradictions in a

revolutionary way. China lost between 2000 and 2009 = 2.18 trillion U.S. dollars through illegal financial transactions and is therefore at first place on the black list.

The greedy clutches of Chinese social-imperialism follow Maoist pragmatism - subordinated under the capitalist law of making maximum of profits. We know that pragmatism is the ideology of imperialism, with which the U.S.A. once had conquered their world domination. This strategy of Chinese pragmatism is even more clever than the American one – last not least - a feature of the Mao Zedong – Ideas – masked behind „Marxist-Leninist“ phraseology.

The “maintenance” of world capitalism is impossible without imperialist wars. Without the forcible redistribution of colonies etc., the new imperialist powers - including China - do not get those privileges which the older imperialist powers - enjoy (IE. U.S.A. and Europe). Whether social-imperialism or imperialism - both mean predatory wars. The danger of a new World War is real. And nobody shall doubt about the fact, that the U.S.A. and China will not play the role of angels of peace. Whether imperialist World War or anti-imperialist World-Civil-War - both means the end of the era of world imperialism and the beginning of world socialism.

"The social revolution can come only in the form of an epoch in which are combined civil war by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in the advanced countries and a *whole series* of democratic and revolutionary movements, including the national liberation movement, in the undeveloped, backward and oppressed nations“ (Lenin, Volume 23, page 60, English edition).

The Arab peoples will overcome their splits, because they learn by own experiences: who is their friend and who is their enemy ? They will unmask not only the "help" of American and European imperialists, but also the "support" of other imperialists - including the "solidarity" of the Chinese social-imperialists.

Any profiteering with the reactionary bloodsuckers of the North African countries and the Near and Middle East - as in any other countries, too - harms the interests of the world proletariat and the oppressed peoples.

We Stalinist-Hoxhaists assess Maoists not according to their words, but according to their deeds, according to their backer who provides them material support for their propaganda. Those who fight for the socialist world revolution cannot go with imperialists and their lackeys. Those who fight against the class-enemies cannot go with the "Fifth Column" of world imperialism, cannot go with Maoist organizations - paid by Chinese money - squeezed out of the working class and the poor masses. And that's why the socialist Albania of comrade Enver Hoxha refused to be forced into the „Fifth Column“ of Chinese social-imperialism.

Take for example the recent statement of the Maoist "ICOR", from 23 January, 2011: *"To the popular uprising in Tunisia"*.

It is indeed much talk of the "democratic rights", but nothing about the duty of the Communists, to propagate the struggle against revisionist and social-democratic influence within this revolutionary democratic movement. An appeal to the workers' world movement and to the communist world movement - to support the liberation struggle of the Arab world in the spirit of the socialist world revolution - is missing. Concealment of the beginning of the world revolution; concealment of the necessary transition of the democratic revolution to socialist revolution and concealment of further advancement of the struggle of the Arab proletariat towards socialism. In Tunisia, there is prevailing capitalism, there is the fundamental contradiction between labor and capital. This means inevitably: The workers and peasants meet their historic mission by smashing the capitalist state, eliminating the private ownership of the means of production, expelling all sorts of imperialists from their country, expropriating foreign capitalists without compensation, founding a Stalinist-Hoxhaist party, which leads the armed class struggle and fights for the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, the Maoists keep totally silence on these Marxist-Leninist demands. Democratic demands are necessary for the relief and ripening of the process of the ongoing revolution, but Lenin teaches that with democracy, alone, the class-society cannot be removed. The proletariat must establish its class-dictatorship. We will never replace our revolutionary work by reformism and revisionism. We have the power to direct the democratic struggle in the direction of the socialist struggle. We combine the struggle for democratic liberties of the people with the arming of the proletariat for the overthrow of capitalism.

In the Maoist proclamation of the "ICOR" for the Tunisian people, the needed strengthening of the proletarian internationalism is also missing. The unification of the world proletariat and the liberation struggle of the Tunisian people, and with all the oppressed Arab peoples, is needed for the further development of the world-socialist revolution. Otherwise the liberation of the Arab peoples from the yoke of world imperialism is totally impossible. All this is missing, but the ICOR calls itself: *"International Conference of Revolutionary parties and organizations."* Traitors - all along the line !

Enver Hoxha wrote on December 8, 1977 :

As I have said, the policy of China with the Arab countries is non-existent. In its relations with these countries it distinguishes itself for its pro-American and anti-Soviet stand. This orientation dictates the policy of China in the whole Mediterranean basin. Thus, China is in opposition to those Arab countries with which the Soviet Union has relations and is trying to establish its influence, while China is pro the other Arab countries on which the United States of America has its grip and where it makes the law. Hence, on the one hand, some of the states in this basin are opposed to the policy of

China, but these states on the other side are not pro China, either, because they see that it is not doing anything for them. What is China doing in fact? It applauds Somalia, its President Mohammed Siad because he expelled the Soviets from Somalia, and he was quite right to do so, but China applauds him precisely because he went to Washington and placed his country under the yoke of American imperialism. Such is the policy of China. "(Enver Hoxha, *"Reflections on China"*, Volume II,).

With this policy which China is pursuing in the international arena, what stand must it adopt towards the American manoeuvre in the Middle East? China's aim is to preserve the status quo in this zone of the world, to turn Egypt into its own obedient partner; it wants the other Arab countries, too, to recognize and respect it. At the same time, the aim of this manoeuvre is to keep the Arab peoples divided. Naturally, on this course which it has taken, China must adhere to the side of the Americans and that is what it is doing in fact, that is, it supports the pro-American Arab chiefs and supports Israel, hence, is for an American-style peace in which not the freedom and independence of the Arab peoples, but the greed of Israeli fascists and the Egyptian, Saudi-Arabian, and other wealthy triumphs.

It is clear that this position of the Chinese is anti-Marxist. China is obliged to adopt this position and to pose in the eyes of all the Arab peoples as if it has defended and defends them, but in fact it does not defend any of these peoples, does not defend their aspirations to national liberation, but supports

capitalism and imperialism."(Enver Hoxha, *"Reflections on China "*, Volume II, December 18, 1977).

„The Sino-American neo-colonialist tactic is coordinated especially in Africa. The aim of these two international robbers is to consolidate their positions wherever they have them and to occupy new positions in those countries where they have nothing. Both these partners in crime against the peoples, poke their noses wherever local wars incited by imperialism and social-imperialism ...

... China is trying to penetrate into Africa for two aims: first, to sabotage the interference and establishment of the Soviets and to spread its rug to squat there itself, and second, to strengthen the positions of American imperialism there. Whereas the Soviets and Americans go to Africa under their true colors as neo-colonialists and imperialists, China goes dressed in flowery robes and with Marxist phraseology ...

Is the United States of America afraid of the policy of the Chinese in Africa ? For the moment no, because China does not have that economical potential, that cavalry of the dollar and Saint George to really capture the hearts of the Mobutus, Bocassas and others, but it could become dangerous to the United States of America later“ (Enver Hoxha, *"The Superpowers,"* Page 467 – 468, English edition). This was written in 1978.

Meanwhile, Enver Hoxha's foresight has proved to be reality. Since the world crisis the U.S. are on a drip of China. The American and Chinese super-powers embrace each other – and in the end they will suffocate each other – to the advantage of the socialist world revolution.

The world imperialism was attacked by the Marxist-Leninist World Movement of comrade Enver Hoxha, and Mao Zedong came, to help the world-imperialism - to rescue his survival.

Mao Zedong, in his time, and the Chinese social-imperialists of today, have one and the same goal: to prolong world capitalism - by replacing the old world imperialist system by a new one, by the Chinese model. Who wants to doubt this?

Our position is clear:

we strive for the abolition of the inevitability of world imperialism at all and never for the replacement of the old imperialist world-forces through some new. And inseparably connected with this aim, we strive for the abolition of the inevitability of revisionism and never for the replacement of old by new revisionists, by the Maoist model.

The class-contradictions in the world are intensifying, in the same degree as the new emerging imperialist forces and the old, rundown imperialist forces exacerbate their struggle for world hegemony, the redistribution of the world.

The intensification of the struggle of the world's counter-revolution against the world revolution inevitably calls forth the intensification of the revisionist forces against the communist forces. This corresponds to the ABC of Marxism-Leninism. We Stalinist-Hoxhaists foresee this dangerous mobilization of the revisionist forces as a consequence of the increasing global class-struggles which herald the socialist world revolution. The existence of world imperialism is in danger and the Maoists are summoned to help liquidating the Stalinist-Hoxhaist World Movement - similar to the times of Mao Zedong against the Marxist-Leninist World Movement of Comrade Enver Hoxha and similar to the help of the modern revisionists after the death of Comrade Stalin.

Therefore, we are strengthening our global struggle against neo-revisionism. We Stalinist-Hoxhaists declare war on Maoism !

Today's revisionism (Neo-Revisionism) is essentially in accordance with the modern revisionism, namely the ideology of the proletariat to adapt to the changing power relations in global capitalism. Under today's conditions are emerging in the development of two major revisionist trends:

(1) The old revisionist trend is still maintaining the old "balance of power" in the world - with the dominance of U.S. imperialism - the status quo of "peaceful co-existence".

(2) And the other trend, these are the different neo-revisionist streaming, needed to push forward the replacement of the old capitalist world system through a new one (in general). And (in particular) these neo-revisionist streaming are necessary to leverage new power relations under the hegemony of the emerging world-imperialist powers, especially the Chinese imperialism. Both trends are different in their particularity, however, both trends are identical in their common struggle for defending capitalism against socialism.

(3) In between, the centrist elements fluctuate back and forth, trying to reconcile the two trends together and unite them on the basis of „peaceful co-existence“. However, antagonistic contradictions cannot be solved in a peaceful way. „Peaceful way“ under conditions of antagonistic class-relations does always mean: subordination of the ideology of the proletariat under the ideology of the bourgeoisie. The reconciliation of different opportunist trends serves the bloc-construction against the world proletariat and not against world bourgeoisie.

In particular, the Chinese revisionism is dangerous because it disguises itself with our anti-revisionist struggle. Therefore we draw a principled Stalinist-Hoxhaist demarcation line against the Chinese so-called *"Proposal concerning the General-Line of the International Communist Movement"* of the CP of China, June 14, 1963. This Maoist general-line is quintessentially an anti-Stalinist line. In the „polemics“ Mao kept silence about defense of Stalinism, about the proletarian socialist world revolution, about the dictatorship of the proletariat etc, etc. - all these basic pillars of a genuine Marxist-Leninist General-Line escaped the author. Why? Did Mao not know the basic pillars of Marxism-Leninism ? Certainly he knew all about it, but as a revisionist he had to draw the curtain over it. Mao's criticism on the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin is well known. He opposed the General-Line of the Comintern and replaced it by his own one in 1963. Mao neither defended not based upon the continuation of the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin. The „polemics“ of Mao Zedong was not written for the defense of the Comintern, in the contrary, it was written against the Comintern. The „polemics“ was written with the aim to thwart the needed reconstruction of a new world-revolutionary, communist leading center. A world-communist movement without its leading center is in accordance with the interests of world bourgeoisie and not with the world proletariat. To do world imperialism a disservice Mao attacked the Soviet center of the modern revisionism to replace it by a new world revisionist center of the Chinese revisionism.

We Stalinist-Hoxhaist have never denied the necessity of the world-communist party, neither in theory nor in practice. We were and we are always against anti-Bolshevist „Mother-Daughter-Relations“ among the communist parties. The 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism have always condemned this kind of relationship as a revisionist line. However, does this mean simultaneously that we would ever reject the role of the hegemony of the world proletariat and its vanguard ? We are against all models of revisionist leadership - no matter if organized centrally or decentrally, but absolutely for the revolutionary, unrenounceable leadership of our globalized Bolshevik class struggle. The recognition of the Communist Party in his own country is not the same, we the recognition of the Communist world party. The latter implies subordination to the world party, as the individual interests of the proletariat of a country to the general interests of the world proletariat are subordinate. We expose the revisionist "theory of the mother party". We defend both the leadership of the Communist International and the equality and sovereignty of the communist parties of each country - dialectically combined through democratic centralism. A socialist world revolution without global leadership is impossible. And it is also impossible to guarantee the victory of the socialist revolution in a single country without the victory of the socialist world revolution. Those who do not want guaranteed socialism, do not need the socialist world revolution. And again, those who do not need the socialist world revolution do not need the Communist International. And that's what Mao did yesterday and what the Maoists do today – struggle against the Communist International.

Who does not concede the leading role of the CPSU (B) within the III. International, but takes instead a neutral position of the polycentric "independence, equality, etc." - harms the principles of democratic centralism and is not a proletarian internationalist. It was the Maoism which made it impossible for the CP of China, to follow the revolutionary path of the Comintern in its own country. The correct Marxist-Leninist struggle against Khrushchev's revisionist theory of the "mother-party" and the "daughter- party" was only misused by the Maoists, the Titoists and other revisionists, to strengthen their own revisionist "independence" and "equality" against the Soviet-revisionist tutelage. The Maoists and all the other rivals of the Soviet revisionists enlarged the international spiderweb of revisionism, webs of deception, for all those comrades who refused to follow the Soviet revisionists towards capitalism. Revisionism and imperialism on a world scale can ultimately only be defeated victoriously, if the communist parties - in maintaining their own equality and independence - conjoin themselves in the centralized Communist International. This is the experience of the history of the Communist International. Imperialism had to isolate all the single parties first ideologically and then organizationally with the aim to divide and split them, to liquidate the communist world

movement. Therefore the imperialists tried to increase their ideological divergences and to misuse their national barriers and contradictions, for the purpose of hampering their re-unification within a new Communist International. The Maoists organized international forces with the intention to isolate the individual socialist country from its alliance with the world proletariat, the isolation of the PAA from its brother- parties - the isolation of the leading Communist Party from all the other Communist parties. That was the strategy and tactics of revisionism, that was the strategy of Mao Zedong, and in this way the Maoists have pursued the split of the unity of the Marxist-Leninist world movement - while the Maoists spread the treacherous slogan: "Albania is guilty for the division of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement". The dual strategy and tactics of revisionism on the issue of the leading party of the revolutionary world-center is that: the leading revisionist party in power (SU) co-operates hand in hand with an "oppositional" leading revisionist party (China). By this means the overall revisionist influence in the communist movement maintained and continued uninterruptedly. The baton had to be handed over to the next leading revisionist party as the new successor of the old leading revisionist world- center, thus already before the capitalist restoration was completed. This way the Maoists mastered the tactics of the revisionist placeholder. Denying the necessity of the leading role of the party of the revolutionary world-center under the pretext of the alleged critique at the "mother party" - this is precisely neo-revisionism as it is expressed in Mao's "polemics". Indirectly it is basically a critique at the principles of proletarian internationalism and a smoke screen around the fact that Mao had really assumed the role of the Soviet revisionist "mother-party" [all this can be re-read in the „General-Line of the Comintern (ML)“— decided in 2001].

We Stalinist-Hoxhaists are the only global force who defend the old general-line of the Comintern against all its enemies - inclusively against the Maoists, inclusively against the „polemics“ (1963) of the CP of China. After the death of Comrade Stalin Mao Zedong wanted to usurp the leadership of the communist movement from the hands of the Soviet revisionists. He put on his "anti-revisionist" mask and he lured the young anti-Krushchevite Marxist-Leninist world movement. For this purpose he created his own „general-line“ in 1963 ("polemics"). Until today, the Maoists defend this revisionist "General-Line". And in one way or another the Maoists still use it as their basis for all their political activities.

The PAA refused, rightly, to be subordinated under this revisionist „general-line“ of Mao Zedong. And so we Stalinist-Hoxhaists declare, today ,- again rightly - we shall never subordinate ourselves under any of the different Maoist lines. We destroy them.

Mao was not interested in a world-Bolshevist party, in the Communist

International, which would centrally organize and globally spread the struggle against modern revisionism. And the Maoists of today demonstrate just as Mao little interest in the re-foundation of the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin. Mao always refused to practice organizational discipline of proletarian internationalism. In the view of Mao the CP of China ought to stand above democratic centralism of the Comintern. Instead of the Comintern, he only accepted the Communist World Movement under the leadership of the CP of China, under his own leadership. He also tried to impose his Chinese chauvinist line onto the PLA of Comrade Enver Hoxha – however Enver Hoxha completely thwarted Mao Zedong's intentions.

And also Stalin criticized the revisionist line of Mao Zedong:

“When China was liberated, Stalin expressed his doubt that the Chinese leadership might follow the Titoite course. Glancing over all the main principles of Mao Tsetung's revisionist line, in regard to all those things which he raises against Stalin, we can say without reservation that Stalin was truly a great Marxist-Leninist who foresaw correctly where China was going, who long ago realized what the views of Mao Tsetung were, and saw that, in many directions, they were Titoite revisionist views, both on international policy and on internal policy, on the class struggle, on the dictatorship of the proletariat, on peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems, etc.” (Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China*, Vol II, December 28, 1977).

1963, Mao favored "the revolutions of the peoples"- the main classless slogan of his "polemics". He avoided to emphasize the proletariat (- in particular, Mao says nothing of the revolutionary role of the proletariat in the revisionist countries). So, in the "polemics" we cannot find anything about the socialist world revolution of the world-proletariat. Mao denied the hegemony of the world-proletariat, denied its historical mission, its leading role in the world as the only consistently revolutionary class, and last not least he denied the defense of the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin which struggled for world-communism. Only revisionist lines discard the indispensable internationalist principles of Marxism-Leninism. And the Maoist "polemics" was one of them.

Some years later the "polemics" were withdrawn, allegedly because of the „final victory“ over modern revisionism. To argue in this way is a dangerous, revisionist way, because we know that any dismissal of the anti-revisionist struggle serves the bourgeoisie. To enter and to leave the arena of the struggle against revisionism – this permanently wavering in the tactics of the Chinese revisionists, is excellently described, documented and condemned in the book of Comrade Enver Hoxha, „Reflections on China“. It is one of the most important experiences of the struggle against revisionism that the new revisionists always try to argue that the struggle against „old-fashioned“

revisionism is allegedly outdated and that revisionism dies away „by itself“ ("historically defeated"). Nothing bourgeois shall fall if it is not forced by the proletariat to fall - not even revisionism. The history of revisionism is the history of the futile attempts of the bourgeoisie, to force the Communists' struggle against revisionism into capitulation. In regard of this general historical experience we can define Maoism in particular as an ideology which creeps into the Marxist-Leninist movement, with the intention to grind the sharpness of our anti-revisionist weapons away, to prepare the reconciliation with revisionism. Maoists recruit re-conciliatory forces, to lead them against the forces of the Marxist-Leninists. By this means the Maoists try to bring our Marxist-Leninist World Movement under the rule of the Maoist movements. Maoists criticize revisionism in words, however, they want the withdrawal from our anti-revisionist struggle in deeds. The neo-revisionism is the agency of the bourgeoisie within the anti-revisionist movement – the current main danger within the Communist Movement.

There was a time when the revolutionary elements of the old social democracy had detached themselves from the opportunists and rightist leaders of the 2nd International and as well from the centrist leaders of the so called „2 ½ . International (Kautskyites). They formed revolutionary proletarian communist parties of a new Leninist type and a new III. International under the leadership of the Bolshevik party – the only party which had led the proletariat to its dictatorship – by the Great Socialist October Revolution and which created the first socialist country in the world – the new socialist world camp, the center of the socialist world revolution.

There was a comparable time when communist parties had detached themselves from the leading centers of the American, Yugoslav, Soviet, Euro-"communist", Chinese and other revisionist currents. That was an internal process of struggles of Bolshevik elements against the revisionist elements within the old parties - beginning after the dissolution of the Comintern and finally became an open and external struggle after the open division of the Communist World Movement by the XX. Congress of the revisionist leadership of the CPSU. The Bolshevik elements formed new parties of a Leninist-Stalinist type, anti-revisionist parties. Some others did further exist and they expelled their old revisionist leadership. In this process of detachment from modern revisionism a new Marxist-Leninist world-center - with the PLA and comrade Enver Hoxha at the top - emerged in the struggle against centrist currents, mainly against Maoism. The Struggle against the centrist Mao Zedong-Ideas became one of the most important historical moments in the history of the Communist World Movement – comparable with the Leninist-Stalinist struggle against the centrist Trotskyism.

Now we are witnesses of a reverse process. The inevitable demarcation line which comrade Enver Hoxha had drawn against the Mao Zedong-Ideas became permeable and

was particularly minimized seriously through reconciliation with Maoism (aside from reconciliation with Trotskyism) . This creeping development which emerges more and more openly, had to evoke without fail the determined resistance of the true Marxist-Leninists.

Now is the historical time ripe when Stalinist-Hoxhaists elements detach themselves from the leading centers of the neo-revisionist currents. They shall form Stalinist-Hoxhaist parties as sections of the Communist International of a new global Stalinist-Hoxhaist type for preparing and organizing the socialist world revolution.

This is the result of the great history of the Communist World Movement.

And we admit self-critically that we ourselves have contributed to this development, because we did not defend strictly enough the Marxism-Leninism opposite to Maoism. On our web pages we have limited ourselves too much to propagate the teachings of Enver Hoxha against the Mao Zedong-Ideas, without exposing and fighting against the topical activities of the Maoists. It would be disingenuous to justify itself with the statement that there are other web pages which likewise spread the teachings of Enver Hoxha against the Maoism. In comparison to the massive publications of the Maoists and the " re-conciliators of Mao and Enver " - we are in truth only a small minority. On the basis of the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism we have to fight resolutely against the general trend of reconciliation with neo-revisionism and we must defend, maintain and sharpen our clear demarcation-line against Maoism, Trotskyism and other anti-Stalinist-Hoxhaist currents – without neglecting the old danger of modern revisionism with its Menchevist, reformist and social democratic roots.

The Maoists had raised from the beginning, the dirty banner of Trotskyism. They allegedly "attacked" the modern revisionism of Russia - Russia, allegedly the "main enemy No. 1". In truth Mao supported the American imperialists, thus the genuine main enemy No. 1. In truth, the Maoists used this as a hoax within the Marxist-Leninist world movement for hiding their revisionism. All possible reactionary ideologies and "theories" can be hidden behind the banner of Mao Zedong Ideas, to deceive the working class. Circulating many different lines and integrating many opportunistic, pragmatic and liberalistic hues - this is a characteristics of Maoism. Comparable to Trotskyism, Maoism is neither fish nor fowl. The betrayal of Mao Zedong at the world socialist revolution is that he had bought world imperialism time for regeneration and that he had weakened the world communist movement through split and division. Mao gave material support to the Maoists all over the world. Until today, China backs its agencies within the Marxist-Leninist World Movement, such as the Maoist MLPD in Germany:

Enver Hoxha wrote on 23 June 1977:

The representatives of the Chinese news agency in Europe and the lackeys of the

Chinese, especially the Trotskyite Jurquet in France and the elements of «Rote Fahne» in Germany [MLPD - remark of the author], are the most active in pursuing the treacherous line of Hua Kuo-feng. They are activizing people not only in their own countries, but wherever they can.

China is financing all these agents, who have created a press and put out some kind of propaganda, but their main propaganda is done with money. China gives these agents money to buy the waverers who take part in the Marxist-Leninist communist parties of Europe.

As I have said before, the aim of the Chinese tactic is to incite a polemic, but this polemic must be developed between the Marxist-Leninist parties and the fascist groupings with Maoist labels, while China remains outside this polemic, is not to be mentioned ... Therefore, in order to expose and defeat it and its agents, it must be faced with the steel strength of the Marxist-Leninist ideology." (Enver Hoxha," Reflections on China", Volume II, June 23, 1977).

Unbelievable but true: This „MLPD“ („Red Flag“) founded its Maoist "world-organization", the ICOR, exactly on the date of birthday of Comrade Enver Hoxha (16th of October, 2011) !! And this Maoist "world-organization" accused Comrade Enver Hoxha:

"The attacks of the Party of Labor of Albania against Mao Zedong caused the split in the international labor movement and the Marxist-Leninist world movement" (Stefan Engel, ICC [International Coordinating Committee] - Asia, 2008)

The Maoists accuses us Stalinist-Hoxhaists that we *"defend the errors of the international Communist movement under Stalin."* They call us Stalinist-Hoxhaists: „*Lackeys of Anti-Communism*“ !!! In deed, with these baseless accusations, they only accuse themselves as the Anti-Stalinists, as the Anti-Communists. In the view of the Maoists only those are defenders of anti-revisionism who abstain from criticizing Maoism . And, logically, those who attack Maoism are not anti-revisionists. That's the kind of Maoist "anti-revisionism". By the way, the ICMLPO accuses us Stalinist-Hoxhaists that we „*defend the errors of the Marxist-Leninist Movement under Enver Hoxha.*“ However, in contrast to the open noisiness of the Maoists, the ICMLPO keeps (still) silence on us Stalinist-Hoxhaists and on the Marxist-Leninist World Movement of comrade Enver Hoxha. We shall force the ICMLPO to break their silence on their treachery.

Once upon a time the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties based their struggle against the betrayal of the Maoists on the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha. They defended and propagated Albania as the only genuine socialist country in the world, as the homeland of the world proletariat, as the only world-center of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement, as the centre of world communism. This was of world historical significance. But what happened to these parties? They turned their back away from Albania and dropped the banner of comrade Enver Hoxha. And simultaneously,

their struggle against the Maoists came to a standstill. We criticized their betrayal, however, this left them unimpressed, they keep silence on us, they continue their treacherous course. By launching their „Quito-Declaration“ they decided that Socialist Albania and the Marxist-Leninist World Movement had never existed before ! They let us down in our struggle against Maoism and that's why we call them traitors. Every withdrawal from the struggle against Maoism strengthens the position of the Maoists against the Stalinist-Hoxhaists, serves the counter-revolution.

And the Maoists ? Their fight against us Stalinist-Hoxhaists had never stopped. They struggled against us long before China's betrayal in 1978 and after that as well.

They never stopped attacking us so called: *"Splitters of the international labor movement and the Marxist-Leninist world movement."*

Who are the splitters ? The Maoists or the Stalinist-Hoxhaists ?

"No party in the world (except the CPSU (B) of the comrades of Lenin and Stalin) has ever served more faithful and honorable the defense of the Communist Internationale, the Marxist-Leninist world movement, the world proletariat and the struggles of the peoples for their freedom and independence than this has done the Party of Labor of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the top." (from: "The General-Line" of the Comintern [SH], 2001).

The splitters of the Marxist-Leninist world movement were not the Party of Labor of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha, however the Communist Party of China and Mao Zedong !

A genuine Marxist-Leninist is not defending Mao Zedong, in the contrary. A genuine Marxist-Leninist defends Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism against revisionist Mao Zedong-Ideas.

In the eyes of the imperialists and their opportunistic lackeys - who compete their Chinese rival and its own opportunistic lackeys – is Maoism not a proletarian ideology but a competing bourgeois ideology. In the same way the imperialist wage material wars against each other, they also wage mental wars against each other. This is a matter of dialectics. So what is Anti-Maoism ? Was comrade Enver Hoxha an „anti-communist“ because he criticized the Mao Zedong-Ideas on the scientific base of Marxism-Leninism? The Maoists declared Anti-Maoism to be „anti-communism“. So they pretend Hoxhaism = anti-communism. Is this a logical deduction ? By no means ! Maoists suffer this misconception, because they do not know how to stand out against the righteous criticism of Marxism-Leninism on Maoism. The Maoists are not the first ones whom we put an idea out of their head. We have never let a revisionist off unpunished. He can cry as much he likes: „I am a communist ! I am unimpeachable !“ To deceive the masses the

Maoists creep in the role of the victim and shout "Stop thief!"

It is not a request for the thief to stop, but a request for the masses to stop the Stalinist-Hoxhaists. Those people who make a feint like this, do not stand up to Marxism-Leninism and this is simply despicably and piteously. However, those who dare beating us communists with an „anti-communist“ club, can „make their will.“

Maoism is basically an ideology of Chinese imperialism. Fighting against the Chinese imperialism means above all, to tear the masses solidarily away from the Maoist ideological . We convince them by means of their own experiences. The strength and tenacity of ideological influence on the masses of Chinese imperialism is indeed not caused by the influence of the contemporary Chinese social-fascist leadership, however rather by the ideological influence of the Maoist movements in the world. That is in no way a contradiction. The Chinese social fascists are ruthless, directly and aggressive enemies, and they can and will never "convince" the oppressed and exploited masses. The Maoists, in contrast, try to convince peasants and petty-bourgeois masses and even some retrograde elements within the working class.

If the Maoists speak about „socialist revolution“ then they do not mean socialist revolution in China ! While the Marxist-Leninists insist on the socialist revolution against revisionism at power, on destruction of social-imperialism and the social-fascist state, the Maoists refuse to call for the violent socialist revolution in the capitalist China. That's why they fear comrade Enver Hoxha who just called for this. That's why the Maoists are afraid of the socialist world revolution, because it would not forgo China. The Chinese social-imperialists and social-fascists seem to be powerful but they are powerless against the dictatorship of the world proletariat. That' why the slogan of the socialist world revolution is a no-no for all Maoists. Even the world imperialists know for sure, „game is over“, if the Chinese proletariat would have seized power. The dictatorship of the Chinese proletariat is only possible on the ruins of the Mao Zedong-Ideas.

Those Maoists who say: *"You must fight against the Chinese imperialism and not against the Maoists"* do not understand the ideological tasks of our anti-revisionist struggle. If you really want to destroy imperialism, imperialist wars, reaction and fascism revolutionarily , then you have to liberate the masses comprehensively from any bourgeois ideological influence. The Maoists lie to the masses and give them completely wrong ideas about the revolutionary tasks and about the class-nature of the struggle against imperialism. It is the Maoists, the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intelligentsia, who paved the ideological way for the strengthening of Chinese imperialism. They will never stop to do this if we do not hinder them.

Most of the Maoist currents showcase „5 Heads“ with Mao Zedong in their „logo“. It is well-known that we also present „5 Heads“ in our emblem. What is the difference ? Obviously the Maoist „Fifth Head“ is that of Mao Zedong whereas our Fifth Head is that of Enver Hoxha. The essential meaning is not simply the replace-ability of „heads“ . The decisive difference is the ideological one: The Maoist call their ideology „*Marxism-Leninism-Maoism*“, however we Stalinist- Hoxhaists base only on „Marxism-Leninism“. We speak about the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism. We Stalinist-Hoxhaists would have never thought of „*Marxism-Leninism-Hoxhaism*“. We would never exclude Stalinism or even replace it. Correctly we base on: Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism.

„*Marxism-Leninism-Maoism*“ is obviously a replacement of Stalinism by Maoism – and this is the crux of the revisionist betrayal of Maoism – congruent with the revisionist betrayal of all the other modern revisionists who limit themselves on Marx, Engels and Lenin whereas many neo-revisionists of today limit themselves on Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin (IE ICMLPO) . All currents of revisionism and neo-revisionism, as a whole, can be characterized as currents against the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism.

The Anti-Stalinism of the Soviet revisionists and that of the Chinese revisionists differs simply only in tactical regard. The Chinese revisionist took up the mask of „Stalin“ to invite all those comrades who abandoned open Anti-Stalinism of the Krushtchevites with the intention to strengthen one's own Chinese revisionism in opposition to the Soviet one. Maoists hide their Anti-Stalinism behind the Mao Zedong-Ideas. Allegedly, the Mao Zedong-Ideas „corrected“ the so called „errors“ of Stalin. In the eyes of the Maoists, the Mao Zedong-Ideas is the ideology which had „saved“ Marxism-Leninism from Stalinist „falsification“. Mao, himself, spoke about Stalinism to be „60% correct and 40 % wrong.“

The Maoists disclaim the autonomy, independence and perfection of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism in itself. They accept Marxism-Leninism only in the same way as Mao did – namely as a mask to hide behind .

Proletarian science of Marxism-Leninism matures to perfection by itself. It does not need any additions of strange elements of "advanced theories and ideas."

The proletarian ideology is completely independent from all the other class-ideologies. In truth all the so called „enrichment“ turned out to be a disarming of Marxism-Leninism.

Certainly we know very well that the Maoists are „true defenders“ of the Mao Zedong ideas. However, what is the essence of these „ideas“ ? If you would cross out Marxism-Leninism then nothing is left but bourgeois ideology. Maoists are mistaken if

they believe that Marxism-Leninism would be a „poor“ ideology without the „enrichment“ of the Mao Zedong-Ideas. It is just the contrary. The Mao Zedong-Ideas distort and disintegrate Marxism-Leninism. The Mao Zedong-Ideas adapt Marxism-Leninism to the bourgeois ideology, transform the proletarian ideology into a bourgeois ideology, make it „acceptable“ and usable for the interests of world imperialism – AGAINST the world proletariat.

If Maoism is directed against Marxism-Leninism, then it is a great danger to the unity of the Marxist-Leninist world movement. The re-conciliators with Maoism urge the Marxist-Leninist forces towards revisionism, whose task is to paralyze, divide and liquidate the world communist movement. The attempts of the neo-revisionists to unite us under the guise of "anti-revisionism" with the treacherous revisionist leaders, and their attempts to merge us with them (- of which we have separated permanently -), are becoming clearer by repeated concessions towards the revisionists, by abandoning the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, etc., etc..

The Comintern (SH) detects a dangerous current of reconciliation of Marxism-Leninism and neo-revisionist currents – not only in this or that country but on a worldwide stage.

Therefore, the Comintern (SH) passes this resolution to all true communists, who are loyally defending Marxism-Leninism: Do not stand any longer on the sidelines to watch how the Marxist-Leninist World Movement is urged into the abyss !

Comrades!

Remember the critical teachings of Enver Hoxha's on the Mao Zedong-Ideas are immortal !

We do never allow that these teachings are forgotten and denied !

Let us translate and propagate these teachings all over the world !

Let us draw Enver Hoxha's demarcation line tighter against Maoism !

Let's close our ranks ! Support the Comintern (SH) who is the leader of the Stalinist-Hoxhaist struggle against Maoism !

Without defending Enver Hoxha's teachings, we can not defeat Maoism.

The victory over Maoism is not just a victory at the theoretical front. Moreover, Enver Hoxha led the concrete, practical class struggle.

We must defeat the Maoism in practice as well as in theory and on a global scale.

It is not the Maoists, who draw nearer to the ideological positions of us Marxist-Leninists, but conversely, there are a number of former Marxist-Leninist organizations who began to draw nearer to the Maoist ideology and who abandoned and ceded principled position. That the Maoist leaders would "draw nearer" to Marxism-Leninism, is

pure hogwash and a purely tactical feint. The alleged "rapprochement" of the Maoists towards us Marxist-Leninists is planting a rumor to justify the rightist move of the reconciliators away from Marxism-Leninism. The Maoist leaders take never leave of the Mao Zedong-Ideas, however they do not stop their attempts to get us on their side. But with us they shall never succeed!

Comrade Enver Hoxha advised the fraternal parties, not to be the mouthpiece for the revisionists who, themselves, accuse among and against each other. So, as a big capitalist swallows a number of small capitalists, so this is not unlike the revisionists, for they are cut from the same timber. We can not fight together with the revisionists against revisionism.

We do not allow that the Maoists abuse Comrade Enver Hoxha for their machinations. Neither the Maoists nor anybody else can break the ties of friendship between the Chinese and the Albanian people. It is a fact that Comrade Enver Hoxha analyzed the development in China on Marxist-Leninist principles and that he found out serious inconsistencies and errors. Still, he tried for many years, Mao dissuade from his wrong path. This is a correct Marxist-Leninist attitude. But Enver Hoxha finally realized the limit of its efforts. When Chinese revisionism took an openly hostile attitude toward Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha pulled the brake. It is a great historical merit of Comrade Enver Hoxha, that he defended the Marxist-Leninist world movement against Chinese liquidators. To defend comrade Enver Hoxha means today: to build up the Stalinist-Hoxhaist front against the Maoist front and to purify the communist world movement from opportunism.

Unlike the Maoists, we are keen to distinguish the position of Mao and the position of Enver Hoxha and clearly highlight their antagonism. The Maoists have no interest in it. They need a sort of "Enver Hoxha" - compared with Mao - a revisionist with an "anti-revisionist" mask. The Maoists try to present a sort of "Enver Hoxha" like a servant who bowed before his master. They make forget that Enver Hoxha was a great Stalinist - the best one ever around the world. However, Mao Zedong was never a Stalinist:

"Mao Tsetung was not a Marxist-Leninist, but a progressive bourgeois revolutionary"

"Mao Tsetung posed as a Marxist-Leninist dialectician, but he was not so. He was an eclectic who combined the Marxist dialectic with Confucian idealism and the old Chinese philosophy.

The fact is that in his leadership of the party and the state, in his policy and ideology, in the development of China and its party, and in international developments, he did not base himself on the Marxist-Leninist materialist dialectics to guide China on the road to socialism. (Enver Hoxha, Reflections on China", Volume II, December 26, 1977).

"Enver Hoxha and Mao Zedong - together under the same roof" - this slogan developed as a fashion trend because it allegedly expresses "unity and strength" against the "common enemy ". But in truth it is a betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, a betrayal of the anti-revisionist struggle. We cannot defeat the one revisionist current while creeping under the umbrella of another one. This means liquidation of the anti-revisionist struggle - and that is the true meaning of that treacherous slogan.

Unity in the "practical struggle" is supposed to lead to ideological unity (?) That's nothing but pure opportunism. Suffering from this delusion was always criticized by the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism and is also disproved by the experience of class struggle. Every joint action of different political forces who ignore their determined ideological basis are channeled to a direction which leads to an unavoidable ideological bloc-construction, and in this special case ideological subordination to Maoism. We cannot overcome eclecticist ideology by eclecticist practice. This can only be resolved by Bolshevik theory and practice – based upon Marxism-Leninism. Dressing up spontaneism with an "ideological garb" - against this opportunism already Lenin had struggled vehemently (in "What is to be done?").

Lenin teaches: "Before the practical unity comes the ideological clarity." We say to the concerned organizations and comrades insistently: *"You know these words of Lenin, but you do not want to adhere to it. You want practical unity on swampy soil and you will sink therein, inevitably. Action-unities are used to strengthen and extend the proletarian class struggle, but they are no good for ideological reconciliation with the Mao-Zedong Ideas! "*

Nothing against actions organized by means of unity-fronts and tactical alliances with Maoists on principled Marxist-Leninist ground. However: We never ever renounce our right to perform our own principled struggle. We would never subordinate ourselves under the line of the Maoists. We favor only principled action-unities, and we disdain all the other ones. We cannot strike back at the blows of the Maoists neither by a wavering centrist line, nor by maintaining a false and formal unity with them. The Marxist-Leninist organizations must beware of Maoism, the whole Marxist-Leninist world movement must be purified from any Maoist influence, we must protect our Communist International !

The attacks of the neo-revisionist, directed against the Marxist-Leninist world movement, have the same meaning as the treacherous machinations of the Social Democrats of the 2nd International and the Modern Revisionists after the death of Comrade Stalin. Just as we did Stalin have defended against the revisionists, we must today defend Enver Hoxha against the Maoists. We Marxists-Leninists must draw new lessons from the history. In world socialism there is no place for Maoists.

Under the pressure of world imperialism, under pressure from the world capitalist

crisis, amid the aggravating conditions of the global class struggle, the neo-revisionists tempt us to unite with "everyone", "at any price" and under "every condition". This derives from the panic mongering elements of the petty-bourgeoisie and is strange to us Marxist-Leninists. It is quite clear that this Maoist type of "proletarian internationalism " has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism. This "new" Maoist type of "proletarian internationalism " only serves to crush the proletarian internationalism through "practical unity " with the Maoists - strangle through embracement. The Albanian working class, the Albanian people, they got to feel bitterly at their own bodies this kind of Maoist "proletarian internationalism." The Marxist-Leninists never forget this kind of "proletarian internationalism" ! The chauvinist character of Maoist revisionism is just the opposite of proletarian internationalism: They accused socialist Albania to be "revisionist", but with this lie they masked and hide their own chauvinism with "Marxist-Leninist" phraseology.

Lenin taught us: the unity of the Marxist-Leninist world movement is a big deal and a great slogan !

But the matter of the world proletariat needs the globalized unity of true Marxist-Leninists, but not the unity of the Marxist-Leninists with their Maoist opponents. Any deviation from Marxist-Leninist positions leads to the alienation of the working class from its revolutionary line, it leads away from the revolutionary path straight into the morass of opportunism. This is the principled stance of the Marxist-Leninists towards the Maoists.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has foreseen:

"But the problem is that all the other genuine Marxist-Leninist communist parties must understand that we have to do with a big enemy, and our struggle is a very severe and complicated one, in the course of which we shall encounter major obstacles and difficulties, but will also have victories.

The Marxist-Leninist communist parties of the world must work intensively and make clear to the masses of workers, and all the working people of their countries the aims of the party, its minimum and maximum programs. It is important that this work should be concretized, and it w i l l be concretized gradually, but the concretization must be done in depth, and not superficially, because superficial concretization does not create that sound solidity which makes it possible to overcome the critical phases and difficult moments which the Marxist-Leninist movement, socialism, communism, and the revolution will encounter in the world. (Enver Hoxha, „Reflections on China“, October 14, 1977 - Volume II, Page 669 , translation from German edition).

The struggle against Mao Zedong-Ideas is an essential part of the struggle against world imperialism, because he is his offspring and ally is, in theory and practice, the manifestation of bourgeois ideology, a "Trojan horse" of world imperialism in the

Marxist-Leninist world movement.

This is a battle of great historical significance, a battle that will decide on the future of the world revolution, will decide on the question: capitalism or socialism ? It is a struggle over life and death.

We are convinced that the Maoists get more and more exposed and discredited, both in their own country and in the international communist movement. They shall suffer one defeat after another, while the ranks of the revolutionary communists are growing with every new crusading against the Maoists.

Marxism-Leninism will defeat all Maoist currents !

**Long live Comrade Enver Hoxha and his invincible
struggle against Mao Zedong-Ideas !**

**Long live the 5 classics of Marxism-Leninism in the
fight against revisionism !**

**The complete defeat of Maoism and the Triumph of
Marxism-Leninism are inevitable !**

We are glad and proud to present

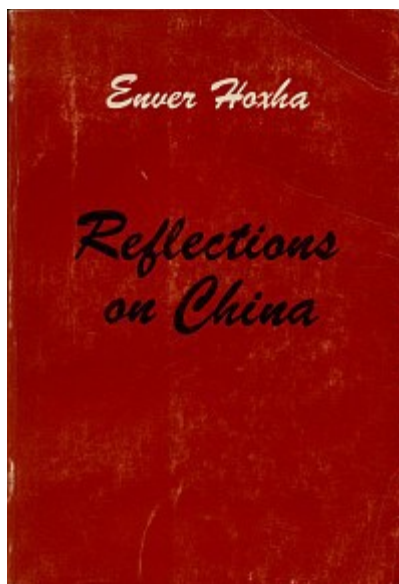
Enver Hoxha's "Reflections on China"

- English version the first time published in the internet !!! -

We like to thank our Russian comrades for this excellent work and their great contribution in the global struggle against Maoism.

(Thanks to: www.enverhoxha.ru)

click on the cover of the books:

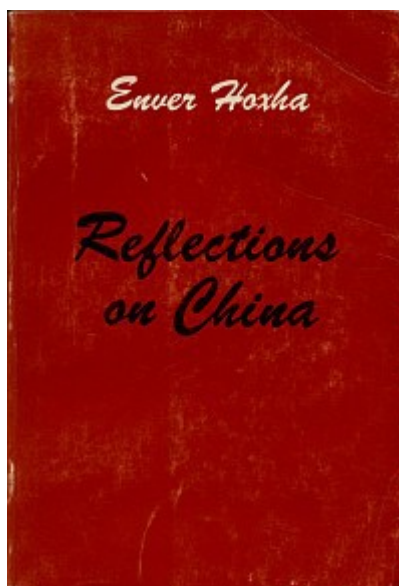


Reflections on China (I)

Volume I

(1962-1972). Extracts from the Political Diary. (1962-1972).

«8 NËNTORI», TIRANA, 1979, English edition).



Reflections on China (II)

Volume II

(1973 - 1977)

Tirana 1979

(PDF-file from www.enverhoxha.ru)

Declaration of War on Maoists

(2)

- continuation -

June 22, 2011

Revisionist tendencies have existed since the very beginning of the communist movement. The bourgeoisie always tried to penetrate inside communists' ranks in order to corrupt the purity of the Marxist ideology and to take its militants away from the idea of the proletarian revolution.

Firstly, we had Bernstein's and Kautsky's revisionisms. Those were obvious revisionisms whose aim was to transform Marxism into an "acceptable" and "reasonable" ideology at the eyes of the bourgeoisie.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha stated:

"(...) after the heroic events of the Commune of Paris, (...) the bourgeoisie, mortally afraid of the spread of the great example it set, encouraged the new opportunist trend of Bernstein, who tried to strip Marxism of its revolutionary content and make it harmless to the political domination of the imperialist bourgeoisie." (Enver Hoxha, *Eurocommunism is Anti-communism*, Tirana 1980, edition in English).

It's very important to take Bernstein's and Kautsky's revisionisms into consideration, because its ideas influenced nearly all future revisionist, opportunist and anti-Marxist currents, including Maoism:

“The theories of Bernstein and Kautsky in various forms, sometimes openly and sometimes modified, are found in the revisionist Browder, are found in Khrushchevite revisionism, in Titoite revisionism, in French revisionism and in the Italian revisionism of Togliatti, in the so-called Mao Zedong thought and all revisionist currents. These innumerable anti-Marxist currents, which are developing in the present-day capitalist and revisionist world, are the fifth column in the ranks of the world revolution to prolong the existence of international capitalism by fighting the revolution from within.” (Enver Hoxha, *Eurocommunism is Anti-communism*, Tirana 1980, edition in English).

Bernstein was, much before Khrushchev, a staunch defender of the “gradual” and “peaceful” way to socialism.

After Bernstein, Kautsky and company, there were other revisionist currents such as Trotskyism, Titoism and Khrushchevism. All these currents were intended to separate peoples from the struggle for socialism by denying the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat and advocating that “there are many ways to achieve socialism”, that “after the socialist revolution, class struggle will disappear”, etc... In their writings, the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism analyzed deeply the causes, the consequences, the ideology and the actions of all those revisionist and anti-socialist currents and there is no need to talk further about them.

When reflecting about the evolution of the successive revisionist movements, we can easily note that the astuteness of the bourgeoisie in discovering new forms of revisionism with the purpose of detaching the broad masses from socialist edification is increasingly sharpening. Facing the strength of the proletarian forces and the growth of their revolutionary conscience, the bourgeoisie is forced to create new reactionary “theories” and “ideas” dressed in a “socialist” cloak in order to perpetuate the capitalist system and its immense class privileges. Of course, in doing this, the main objective of the bourgeoisie is to mislead the proletariat, is to create illusions and to propagate lies in order to thwart the socialist revolution.

When analyzing Maoist revisionism, we see that the bourgeoisie united all the old revisionist ideas and tried to dress them in a “revolutionary” and “leftist” cloak in order to deceive the working classes. However, behind its “revolutionary” outlook, Maoism was an anti-Marxist tendency from the very beginning. As Comrade Enver Hoxha said in his excellent book *“Reflections on China”*, the 1949 Chinese revolution was nothing more than a bourgeois revolution and Mao Zedong was never a Marxist-Leninist:

“Mao Tsetung is not a Marxist-Leninist but a progressive revolutionary democrat, and in my opinion, this is the angle from which his work should be studied.” (Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China, Volume II*, 26 December of 1976, Tirana, 1979, edition in

English).

However, to understand correctly the true character of Maoist revisionism, we have to analyze its origins, we have to analyze the conditions in which the chinese bourgeois-democratic anti-colonialist movement developed.

In the XIX century, the world was dominated by the European colonial and imperialist powers. British, French, German, Russian, Portuguese, Japanese, etc... imperialisms were dividing the world among them. British imperialism was hegemonic, but this did not hinder the other imperialisms from searching for new colonial areas where they could find new resources and markets to their products and capitals. In fact, the rivalry between the various European imperialist powers was increasing at the same time that there were less and less areas of the world which could be turned into colonial zones without interferences and conflicts with the other imperialisms also interested in colonial expansion. Of course, when these european imperialist powers penetrated in a new territory in order to transform it in a new colony, they only permitted the development of certain industrial and agricultural branches whose growth was considered more favorable for the economy of the colonial power. This is quite normal, because their aim was to turn the colonies into mere suppliers of basic resources without any signs of economic development. The effects and consequences of the European imperialisms were horrendous, from man-made large-scale famines and atrocities perpetrated against the oppressed peoples of the colonies, to the amount of massacres and slaughters which were called the "First World War" and which were a product of violent imperialist contradictions. In many senses, these awful effects are still felt nowadays, especially in what concerns the distribution of the world's wealth and the division between "rich" and "poor" countries, which was artificially caused by the capitalist and imperialist system.

Nevertheless, it was not until the second half of the XIX century that the western imperialist powers finally fully penetrated into China. In truth, China's case is very curious because the XIX century was the golden age of traditional colonialism; however, even when the coalition formed by the Great Britain, France, Russia, Japan, etc... managed to defeat the Qing imperial dynasty, those powers didn't turn China into a traditional colonial country, but instead they applied what can be called an indirect colonialism or semi-colonialism, while maintaining China's formal independence. In fact, we can almost say that China was one of the first territories in which was applied what we today call neo-colonialism. This caused the development in China of a very powerful and influent bourgeoisie intimately linked with foreign imperialisms (bourgeoisie-compradore). Simultaneously, there were also another sections of the Chinese bourgeoisie which were growing, especially the more nationalistic and radical bourgeoisie whose interests had profound contradictions with those of the bourgeoisie compradore. This happened because the imperialist powers favored greatly the bourgeoisie of

the compradore type, and through this support this bourgeoisie shared the control of China's main industries and resources with the foreign imperialists.

In order to fight against the favored position of the bourgeoisie compradore, the national bourgeoisie claimed for "genuine independence" and "struggle against foreign control of China". Therefore, the claims of the national bourgeoisie, whose ideology will constitute the main base of Maoist revisionism, were nothing more than instruments which were used by a section of the bourgeois class to accomplish its interests in front of another more powerful section of the same class. The bourgeoisie-compradore had power because it served the foreign imperialists interests. Consequently, to surpass this situation, the national bourgeoisie wanted China's "true independence" in order to break the ties between the foreign imperialists and the bourgeoisie-compradore which were granting the latter's power and influence in China.

This is not to deny that this national bourgeoisie had a certain "progressive" character. After all, we must bear in mind that, in those times, China was still a semi-feudal country and the Chinese peasants were harshly oppressed by the feudal and warlords which ruled the countryside. This fact was determinant in permitting that the national and "progressive" bourgeoisie could win the peasants and the working classes to its side. The "revolutionary" national bourgeoisie "promised" to liberate the peasants from this medieval oppression and with this it started to fight in both fronts: against the bourgeoisie-compradore in the urban areas and against the feudal landowners in the countryside. It was in the context of this struggle between the national "progressive" bourgeoisie supported by the peasants and the working classes, on one side, and the bourgeoisie-compradore and the feudal lords, on the other side, that the 1911 Chinese revolution of Sun-yat Sen (the leader of the Kuomintang) broke out and established the Chinese republic. This revolution was of a bourgeois-democratic character and, despite Sun-yat Sen sympathies for the Leninist Soviet Union, it never managed to menace the power of the bourgeoisie-compradore, nor of the imperialist control in China. Comrade Enver Hoxha brilliantly analyzed the nature of this Chinese republic and the posterior conditions in which the Communist Party of China emerged in an article entitled *"Can the Chinese revolution be called a proletarian revolution?"*:

*"This Chinese Republic was a «bourgeois-democratic» republic, still not fully formed with all the features and characteristics of an advanced bourgeois democracy, although it was moving in that direction. (...) At that time China was languishing under the double domination of the absolute monarchy, of the chaos in the provinces, where the «warlords» reigned with their autonomous administrations and their virtually private «armies», and under the domination of a series of imperialist states. (...) **The proclamation of the republic and the coming to power of the Kuomintang did not mean that the big Chinese bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie and the compradore bourgeoisie were eliminated. In no way. This***

bourgeoisie remained in power and continued to maintain, protect and develop its links with the imperialist states, especially with American imperialism (...) Sun Yat-sen and the Kuomintang chose and developed the course of bourgeois-democratic reforms and, although they had friendly relations with the Leninist Soviet Union, they were far from following the Leninist road for the transformation of China. (Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China, Volume II*, 26th December of 1977, Tirana, 1979, edition in English, edition in English).

The fact that the Chinese republic never managed to get rid of foreign dominance and of the power of the bourgeois-compradore was due to Sun Yat Sen's ideological weakness. Instead of struggling against the bourgeoisie-compradore, he only blamed the defunct Qing dynasty for the fact that China was still a semi-feudal country completely exploited and controlled by the foreign imperialisms. He never understood that to eliminate semi-feudalism and imperialist interference in China, it was necessary at least to neutralize the bourgeoisie-compradore:

"His views and social inclinations were radical in words, but feeble in content. The ideopolitical inclinations of Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang as a whole leaned mostly and mainly towards the bourgeois-democratic views of Western Europe, America and other countries such as Japan." (Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China, Volume II* 26th December of 1977, Tirana, 1979, edition in English).

So, we can conclude that the 1911 Revolution which established the Chinese republic didn't change the country's general socio-economic and class structures. This meant that the section of the "progressive" national bourgeoisie continued the struggle against rival sections of the bourgeoisie.

Finally, in 1920, the Communist Party of China was born. The CPC was composed by some small groups submerged in a total ideological confusion and vacillation. The members of the Communist Party of China were guided by an ideology which was not Marxism-Leninism, but a reactionary and idealist ideology inspired on Confucianism, Buddhism, Chinese traditional philosophy, not to speak about the Trotskyist and anarchist influences which were also noted within the CPC:

"The Communist Party of China was born and developed in the bosom of the old Chinese society and civilization and its members, at that time, were products of the Confucian moral and intellectual education, democratic liberal education, and finally, Marxist-Leninist education. But even later it cannot be said that the Chinese Marxists broke away completely from the traditional civilization which continued to exert its influence on them through their individual psychology and the national psychology. The first Marxist groups were characterized

by ideological confusion and vacillation in political line.

All these various ideological and political views should have been brought under control, in the sense that the ranks should have been purged and the influence of those elements who were democrats, but were not Marxists and who did not follow the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, should have been reduced. With this I want to say that the terrain should have been purged in order to form a genuine communist party, which would follow the theory of Marxism-Leninism, and apply it in a creative manner in the conditions of China, but apply it with a more profound and clearer understanding according to the ideas which guided the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Marxist ideas of Lenin.” (Enver Hoxha, Reflections on China, Volume II, 26th December of 1977, Tirana, 1979, edition in English).

We must also note that the majority of the party members were under the influence of the Chinese national bourgeoisie and, indeed, the future Maoist revisionism would mainly serve the interests of this national bourgeoisie against foreign imperialisms and the bourgeoisie-compradore:

“(...) in the views of the new cadres there remained a pronounced feeling of Chinese nationalism, of the independence of this «great state» and pronounced influences of old philosophical ideas of Confucius, Mencius, etc. This prevented the Chinese comrades, who were being formed during the struggle and battles, from considering Marxism-Leninism a true compass which would guide them in the very dark forest of the Chinese bourgeois-democratic revolution and from working out a Marxist-Leninist political line with clear objectives, which would guide them unwaveringly in all the stages of the Chinese revolution.

The Communist Party of China adopted only certain Marxist slogans and formulations, but in essence it was not a genuine party of the proletariat, a party of the revolution, which could secure the leadership in the democratic revolution and ensure its transformation into a proletarian revolution. In fact, within its ranks a series of anarchist and other theories and deviations developed. The whole development of China, from the formation of the party, from the foundation of the bourgeois-democratic republic of Sun Yat sen to this day shows this chaotic course.

The newly formed Communist Party of China should have followed the course of strengthening itself ideologically and organizationally, should have worked to build up its identity and, step by step, create its alliances with the revolutionary classes and forces, should have fought for the strengthening of the positions of the bourgeois democracy which was being built in this first stage, that is, to ensure the democratic freedoms of the people, to increase the influence of the people and, in the first place, of the proletariat (...) it should have worked to

capture dominant positions in the trade unions and to carry on its propaganda with its own class stand, in order to consolidate its positions in the working class, in order to make that class the leading force of the revolution.

At the same time, it should have extended its influence into the Chinese countryside (...) and should have proceeded more consistently in implementing the agrarian reform and the political-educational awakening of the countryside.” (Enver Hoxha, Reflections on China, Volume II, 26th December of 1977, Tirana, 1979, edition in English).

Moreover, the “C”PC worked in a state of total disorganization, without even looking for the indications and directives that the Comintern of Lenin was giving them. Comrade Lenin analyzed the situation in China and, at its Second Congress, the Comintern defended:

“ (...) the thesis that «the revolution in China and other colonial countries must have a program which permits the inclusion of bourgeois reforms and, especially, the agrarian reform», but stressed that the leadership of the revolution must not be handed over to the democratic bourgeoisie; on the contrary, say the decisions of the Congress, the party of the proletariat must direct a strong and systematic propaganda in favor of Soviets and organize the Soviets of workers and peasants as quickly as possible. This was the general line of the Comintern, which should have been followed by the party in China, too.” (Enver Hoxha, Reflections on China, Volume II, 26th December of 1977, Tirana, 1979, edition in English).

Therefore, Comrade Enver concludes that:

“(...) in general, the Communist Party of China did not properly carry out this role in this situation which had been created in China in a studied and systematic manner, seen from the angle of scientific socialism.

(...) there were different tendencies in that small party which called itself the Communist Party of China, tendencies which have never permitted a correct Marxist-Leninist line to be established, or Marxist-Leninist thought and action to guide it. These initial tendencies which were displayed many times among the main leaders of the party, were frequently leftist, sometimes right-opportunist, sometimes centrist, going as far as anarchist, Trotskyite, bourgeois, and marked chauvinist and racist views. Even later, these tendencies remained as one of the distinctive characteristics of the Communist Party of China which Mao Tsetung and his group eventually led.” (Enver Hoxha, Reflections on China, Volume II 26th December of 1977, Tirana, 1979, edition in English).

As can be seen by these excerpts, Comrade Enver Hoxha exposed the ideological deviations and errors which would greatly influence the future course of the “Communist” Party

of China and its total embracement of revisionism and social-imperialism. He did it in an adequate, correct and Marxist-Leninist manner. Thus, there is no need to talk further about the beginnings of the “C”PC.

Now that we have already taken Maoism’s roots into consideration, we are going to analyze Maoist revisionism in itself.

As was already referred, the “radical” section of the national bourgeoisie continued its struggle against the feudal lords and the bourgeoisie-compradore which the Chinese republic of Sun yat Sen was unable to obliterate.

In 1931, the Japanese imperialism occupied China and in 1939, the Second World War begun. The Communist Party of China struggled against Japanese fascism and against the parts of the Chinese bourgeoisie which took the side of the Japanese and were helping them to dominate China and to win the war. Supported by the peasants and by some working masses, the Communist Party of China played a major role in defeating the Japanese in the National Liberation War. Nevertheless, the “C”PC still could not achieve political power because of the Kuomintang’s opposition. Since the late 20’s, the CPC and the Kuomintang had been engaged in a war for political dominance, but in 1931 they reached a certain unity through the fight against Japanese imperialism. Nevertheless, after the end of the Second World War, the “C”PC could not achieve political power because the war against the Japanese was replaced by the war against the Kuomintang. Both forces wanted to achieve political power and they were representing different sections of the Chinese bourgeoisie: the “C” PC represented the more “progressive” national bourgeoisie, while the Kuomintang of Chiang Kai-shek represented the openly reactionary bourgeoisie linked with American Imperialism. However, as Comrade Enver Hoxha noted, it was not only the Kuomintang which maintained close relations with American Imperialism, in fact, the “C”PC did the same and, as we shall see, the chinese “communists” revealed themselves to be the best allies of American Imperialism in their quest to stop the world proletariat from doing the revolution and from edificating socialism and communism.

Finally, in 1949, the Communist Party of China emerged victorious of the war against the Kuomintang and the democratic-bourgeois, anti-feudal, anti-colonial and progressive revolution triumphed in China.

Nonetheless, the revisionist ideas of Mao existed many years before the bourgeois-democratic takeover in China. One of the more emblematic texts which characterize the so-called “Mao Zedong Thought” is the famous booklet “New Democracy” which was written in 1940. In this work, Mao clearly reveals his bourgeois influences. He says that:

“For many years we Communists have struggled for a cultural revolution as well as for a

political and economic revolution, and our aim is to build a new society and a new state for the Chinese nation.”

But after that, he explains what the Chinese “communists” really mean with “this new society and new state”:

“What we want is to get rid of the old colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal politics and economy and the old culture in their service.”

Here, we can easily note the animosity of the “progressive” bourgeoisie towards the foreign imperialists, the bourgeoisie-compradore and the feudal lords who represented the “old culture” and were preventing the “progressive” national bourgeoisie from achieving political power and from accomplishing its own class interests. In fact, we can consider Mao as some kind of “porte-parole” of the Chinese national bourgeoisie.

In the book “New Democracy”, Mao also presents his famous “theory” of the two revolutions:

“In the course of its history the Chinese revolution must go through two stages, first, the democratic revolution, and second, the socialist revolution, and by their very nature they are two different revolutionary processes. Here democracy does not belong to the old category -- it is not the old democracy, but belongs to the new category -- it is New Democracy.”

First of all, we should note that, as far as we have seen, Mao never explains exactly how will the first stage of the revolution, that of the democratic revolution be turned into the second stage, that of the socialist revolution. He just affirms that the Chinese revolution will have those two stages and that the first stage will no longer be “democracy in general, but democracy of the Chinese type, a new and special type, namely, New Democracy.”

This division of the Chinese revolution in two “different revolutionary processes” is one of the theories to be qualified by the Maoists as an “innovation” (read: deformation) of Marxism-Leninism. Unfortunately to the revisionists of the MLM, this theory constitutes one of the most obvious signs of the reactionary character of the Maoist “New Democracy”.

After the Khrushchevist takeover in the Soviet Union, nearly all the “Communist” Parties which accepted the revisionist betrayal in the S.U started to qualify the Marxist-Leninist militants and parties who refused their rightist course as “ultra-leftists” and “Phrase-Mongers”. However, 16 years before Khrushchev’s coup d’état against socialism, Mao Zedong already named the ones refusing his Trotskyist and Boukharinist ideas as “Left Phrase-Mongers”. Indeed, this is the name of one of the main chapters of his book “New Democracy”. In that chapter he bluntly

says:

"If the capitalist road of bourgeois dictatorship is out of the question, then is it possible to take the socialist road of proletarian dictatorship?"

No, that is not possible either."

In the same chapter, Mao goes even further and makes a statement which is totally astounding:

*"(...) there are other people, apparently with no evil intentions (?!!), **who are misled by the "theory of a single revolution" and the fanciful notion of "accomplishing both the political revolution and the social revolution at one stroke"; they do not understand that our revolution is divided into stages**, that we can only proceed to the next stage of revolution after accomplishing the first, and that there is no such thing as "accomplishing both at one stroke".*

This wrong theory is based on the false presumption that it is essential to develop capitalism before advancing towards the socialist revolution. This anti-socialist presumption has its roots in the anti-Bolshevist and anti-Leninist opposition in the context of the 1917 October Revolution and was one of the main "arguments" used by the bourgeois opposition to destroy the October Revolution and to restore capitalism in Russia under the excuse that "economical conditions in Russia are still not ready to the socialist edification".

In fact, there is a close relationship between Maoism and another major revisionist tendency: Trotskyism. Just like Maoism, Trotskyism tried to glorify and perpetuate bourgeois dictatorship by arguing that socialist revolution is impossible without the development of capitalism. Both revisionisms also tried to convince the oppressed masses that it is possible to rely on non-proletarian classes to successfully achieve socialism.

In truth, the October revolution was the historical precedent which permitted that Lenin affirmed:

"[...] with the help of the proletariat of the developed countries, the backward countries can establish the Soviet regime and, after passing through certain stages, they can achieve communism avoiding the capitalist stage." (Lenin, "IIIe Congrès de l'Internationale communiste", Oeuvres, Paris-Moscou, 1965, translated from french language).

Furthermore, the examples of the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin and Socialist Albania of Comrade Enver Hoxha show clearly the ultra-revisionist character of Mao's affirmation that:

“One cannot edificate socialism without passing through the democratic phase, this is a Marxist law.” (Mao Zedong, « Du gouvernement de coalition », Oeuvres choisies, Pékin, 1968, translated from French language).

Both countries had backward political and economical systems with feudal and semi-feudal characteristics. However, nor Lenin, nor Stalin, nor Enver Hoxha ever thought of postponing the socialist revolution simply because bourgeois “democracy” and capitalism were still not sufficiently developed in their respective countries. To defend the contrary is nothing more than renouncing to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to the edification of socialism and communism.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha significantly said:

“The Albanian experience proves that even a small country with a backward material and technical base can experiment a great and general economic and cultural development, can grant its independence and can also defeat the attacks of world capitalism and imperialism if that country is conducted by a veritable Marxist-Leninist party, if that country is decided to fight until the end for its ideals having confidence in their achievement.” (Enver Hoxha, Report to the VIII Congress of the PTA, Tirana, 1981, translated from the French language).

And as the Party of Labour of Albania correctly understood:

“The level of development of capitalism in a certain country cannot be considered as the decisive factor or the determinant factor in what concerns the victory of the socialist revolution.” (Parti du Travail d’Albanie, Histoire de la construction socialiste en Albanie, Tirana, 1988, translated from French language).

Albanian communists started to apply their Marxist-Leninist ideology even before the complete Liberation of their country, when they expropriated the cereals’ depots privately owned in the areas that they liberated from the Axis’ control. Less than two years after the Liberation, nearly all Albania’s industries and means of production were nationalized, and also the great landowners were expropriated and their properties were given to the landless peasants. The Albanian communists faithfully followed the lessons of Lenin and Stalin and was this ideological firmness that permitted that Socialist Albania could struggle and survive to the imperialist-revisionist encirclement. We should note that Socialist Albania followed a course which was contrary to that of the social-fascist states. Since the middle of the 50’s, those social-fascists states were openly restoring capitalism, the new oligarchic classes were taking power and exploiting the people under “socialist” cloaks. In a word, the general tendency in the states of popular democracy was to weaken and annihilate the dictatorship of the proletariat. However,

in the same period, we note that in socialist Albania the collectivization of the economy in general and of the agriculture in particular was increasingly intensifying, that the proletarian dictatorship was strong and implacable with the enemies of socialism, giving them the treatment they deserved (contrary to what happened in the revisionist countries, where bourgeois "humanism" was undermining the use of revolutionary violence against the reactionaries), that the socialist democracy was more complete than ever, that the living conditions were dramatically improved, etc. In a word, that Albania was not only successfully building socialism, but was also moving towards communism.

An example of the ideological correctness that characterized the actions of the PLA is that even in the first stage of the agrarian reform, the Albanian communists always kept in mind that the small property was nothing more than a temporary stage, that their true objective was the collectivization of all land. And even when the countryside was already organized in socialist cooperatives, the Albanian communists never stopped their militant activity in favor of the transformation of the cooperatives into property of the socialist state, because during socialism the cooperative form of socialist property is also a transitory form, and only its transformation in property of the entire socialist state is compatible with communism. The problem with the cooperative form of property (which the Titoites and the anarchists love so much...) is that it does not totally eliminate the problem of the sense of private property and of bourgeois egoism, because the cooperative is property of the workers of a certain geographical area, it is not property of the entire state of the dictatorship of proletariat. Therefore, this can cause situations in which the workers may feel tempted to favor the interests of their regional cooperative in detriment of the interests of the whole proletarian state. Unfortunately, the revisionist takeover in Albania happened before that the Albanian communists could completely transform all cooperatives into property of the entire state, but the application of Marxism-Leninism in Socialist Albania is in total contrast with Maoist conception that:

*"The republic will take certain necessary steps to confiscate the land of the landlords and distribute it to those peasants having little or no land, carry out Dr. Sun Yat-sen's slogan of "land to the tiller", abolish feudal relations in the rural areas, and turn the land over to the private ownership of the peasants. **A rich peasant economy will be allowed in the rural areas. Such is the policy of "equalization of landownership". "Land to the tiller" is the correct slogan for this policy. (...) socialist agriculture will not be established at this stage (...).**" (Mao Zedong, New Democracy, January of 1940, edition in English).*

The Albanian Socialist Revolution also had various phases: the first phase was that of the liberation of the country and the conquest of the political power by the proletariat; the second was that of the edification of the economical basis of socialism; and the third phase was that of the cultural and ideological revolution. But these phases are very different from the

stages defended by Mao. While the latter completely separates the democratic stage from the socialist stage (Mao not even explains how the democratic and bourgeois stage will be turned into the socialist stage), the three phases of the Albanian Socialist Revolution, far from being separated, are closely touching each other. The phase of the country's liberation must have elements of the socialist economical edification, while this second phase cannot be realized without the seizure of power by the proletariat, and finally, the ideological revolution cannot be accomplish without the other two phases and it helps to grant the second stage and to consolidate the Liberation of the country. What this means is that there was only one Socialist Revolution in Albania, and these three phases merely indicate the most important tasks in each revolutionary period (respectively: conquer of political power, socialist economical edification and cultural revolution). The three "phases" of the Albanian Socialist Revolution are deeply merged among them.

This has nothing to do with the Maoist conception which imagines "two different revolutionary processes", in which capitalism should be developed and in which the cooperation between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and its parties are seen as a definitive aim.

In his book *New Democracy*, Mao does an astonishing statement concerning the 1911 Revolution of Sun Yat Sen. Mao starts by saying that this revolution was of a bourgeois-democratic character, but then he says that after the Russian October Socialist Revolution of 1917, the character of the 1911 Chinese revolution was changed:

"Before these events, the Chinese bourgeois-democratic revolution came within the old category of the bourgeois-democratic world revolution, of which it was a part.

Since these events, the Chinese bourgeois-democratic revolution has changed, it has come within the new category of bourgeois democratic revolutions and, as far as the alignment of revolutionary forces is concerned, forms part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution." (Mao Zedong, *New Democracy*, January of 1940, edition in English).

This "formula" of considering that, after the 1917 October revolution, all the democratic-bourgeois revolutions are part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution will be generally applied by Mao:

"In this era, any revolution in a colony or semi-colony that is directed against imperialism, i.e., against the international bourgeoisie or international capitalism, no longer comes within the old category of the bourgeois-democratic world revolution, but within the new category.

It is no longer part of the old bourgeois, or capitalist, world revolution, but is part of the new world revolution, the proletarian-socialist world revolution. Such revolutionary

colonies and semi-colonies can no longer be regarded as allies of the counter revolutionary front of world capitalism; they have become allies of the revolutionary front of world socialism.” (Mao Zedong, New Democracy, January of 1940, edition in English).

This affirmation is a complete falsity. We, Marxist-Leninists, can never confound the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution with the truly socialist and proletarian revolution. To do so is to complete mislead the masses. One thing is to consider that the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution can open the path to the socialist revolution, that it can facilitate the proletarian struggle for socialism. This is true, but to do this it is necessary that the proletariat is able to use and advance the most progressive characteristics of the anti-imperialist revolution in order to transform it into a socialist revolution.

Another completely different thing is to state that the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolutions are integrating parts of the socialist and proletarian world revolution. This is a totally anti-Marxist and anti-communist theory which propagates class collaboration with the bourgeoisie:

“Although such a revolution in a colonial and semi-colonial country is still fundamentally bourgeois-democratic in its social character during its first stage or first step, and although its objective mission is to clear the path for the development of capitalism, it is no longer a revolution of the old type led by the bourgeoisie with the aim of establishing a capitalist society and a state under bourgeois dictatorship.

*It belongs to the new type of revolution led by the proletariat with the aim, in the first stage, of establishing a new-democratic society and a state **under the joint dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes.**”*

*“Although the Chinese revolution in this first stage (with its many sub-stages) is a new type of bourgeois-democratic revolution and is not yet itself a proletarian-socialist revolution in its social character, it has long become a part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution and is now even a very important part and a great ally of this world revolution. The first step or stage in our revolution is definitely not, and cannot be, the establishment of a capitalist society under the dictatorship of the Chinese bourgeoisie, **but will result in the establishment of a new-democratic society under the joint dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes** of China headed by the Chinese proletariat.” (Mao Zedong, New Democracy, January of 1940, edition in English).*

So, according to Mao, all the “revolutionary classes” should collaborate in the “joint

dictatorship". But what does Mao mean with "all the revolutionary classes"? With this affirmation, Mao is permitting that the revolutionary process can be guided by the national bourgeoisie, because in the context of a bourgeois-democratic revolution against feudalism and colonialism, the national patriotic bourgeoisie can perfectly be considered as a "revolutionary class". What Mao is saying is that the proletariat should closely collaborate with the national bourgeoisie in the development of a "revolution (which) actually serves the purpose of clearing a still wider path for the development of socialism." To affirm that the proletariat should be dependent of the help of the bourgeoisie to open the path to socialism is a complete negation of the most basic Leninist principles. The truth is that the political power belongs to the class who controls the means of production and the productive relations which form the material base of society, and because of that, in the genuine proletarian dictatorship, the revolutionary proletarian classes will refuse to share the power with the bourgeoisie, no matter if it is with the reactionary bourgeoisie or with the "progressive" bourgeoisie. In an authentic proletarian dictatorship, the proletariat will never let the "progressive" bourgeoisie lead the revolution; indeed, the main task of the proletarian dictatorship is to eliminate the bourgeoisie not only as a class, but also to eliminate all its ideological and cultural influences, because there is no other way to assure the victory of socialism and communism.

Contrary to Lenin, Mao seems to think that it's positive for the proletariat to collaborate and to share the power with the "progressive" national bourgeoisie, and this means that under the Maoist "New democracy" the bourgeoisie will continue to exist as a class. If the bourgeoisie will continue to exist as a class, then it will certainly control the means of production in a manner detrimental to the proletariat, it will still maintain the economical power in its hands! In the end, Mao frontally denies the necessity of the leading role of the proletariat in this "New Democracy":

"No matter what classes, parties or individuals in an oppressed nation join the revolution, and no matter whether they themselves are conscious of the point or understand it, so long as they oppose imperialism, their revolution becomes part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution and they become its allies." (Mao Zedong, New Democracy, January of 1940, edition in English).

So, for Mao, the proletariat and the national bourgeoisie, the exploited and the exploiters were all at the same level, they had no conflicting and irreconcilable class interests, but on the contrary, they should be united in the "anti-imperialist" revolution, because in doing this, even the bourgeoisie can turn into an ally of the "proletarian-socialist world revolution"!

As if this was not enough, Mao goes even further with his ultra-opportunist and reactionary theories:

“This new-democratic republic will be different from the old European-American form of capitalist republic under bourgeois dictatorship, which is the old democratic form and already out of date. On the other hand, it will also be different from the socialist republic of the Soviet type under the dictatorship of the proletariat which is already flourishing in the U.S.S.R. (...).

Thus the numerous types of state system in the world can be reduced to three basic kinds according to the class character of their political power: (1) republics under bourgeois dictatorship; (2) republics under the dictatorship of the proletariat; and (3) **republics under the joint dictatorship of several revolutionary classes.**” (Mao Zedong, New Democracy, January of 1940, edition in English).

As can be observed, Mao is defending some kind of “third way”, nor the “bourgeois dictatorship” nor the “proletarian dictatorship”. This is very similar to the old anti-communist theory which says “nor capitalism, nor socialism” and which is still very used nowadays among the petty-bourgeois and “libertarian” currents. This slogan of the “third alternative” is in fact an ultra-reactionary ideology which serves to perpetuate capitalism because, as it was already said, the economical and political power belongs to the class which owns the means of production, the class who controls the productive relations which constitute the material base of society. While this control of the economical and material means of production is not conquered by the proletariat through revolutionary armed violence, it will always belong to the bourgeois exploitative class. If we say “nor bourgeois dictatorship, nor proletarian dictatorship”, as Mao openly does, then we are automatically favoring the bourgeois dictatorship. This happens because the proletarian dictatorship is the only way to definitively eliminate bourgeois dictatorship; therefore, if we deny the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we are maintaining and serving the bourgeois dictatorship. Mao considers that the bourgeoisie and the proletariat can “share” the state power. This is something impossible. It cannot exist a state in which both classes have state power and “share” that power. Or it is the proletariat who detains state power or it is the bourgeoisie. There is no “third way” because what is not revolutionary, it is necessarily reactionary. All those who are not in favor of the proletarian dictatorship and in favor of the communist society are necessarily in favor of the bourgeois dictatorship and of the capitalist system. The bourgeoisie and the proletariat are two classes whose interests are irreconcilable. By its own nature and origins, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat have historical missions and roles which are radically opposed. There is no possibility for these two classes to rule under a “joint dictatorship” as Mao argues, because that “share of power” and “joint dictatorship” will invariably be in favor of the bourgeoisie, because no matter how “progressive”, “liberal” and “patriotic”, the bourgeois class has always an exploitative and reactionary character; until the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, the bourgeoisie is the class which controls the economical power and controls the productive forces which determine every

aspect of the human society, obviously including the state power. So, when Mao affirms that the “New Democracy” will refuse “the dictatorship of the proletariat”, it means that it will certainly be a political-economical system in which the wage slavery will continue, in which the national and “progressive” bourgeoisie will continue exploiting the broad working masses.

The Maoist conceptions constitute a profound deviation from the Leninist strategy of the eventual necessity of an alliance between the proletariat and certain branches of the bourgeoisie in the period before the Socialist and Proletarian revolution. This Leninist strategy defends that, in certain conditions, it may be beneficial to the proletariat to make alliances with non-proletarian branches. Of course, these alliances must always be temporary, they can never be configured as an end in itself, and they should only be made in situations in which they can serve to strengthen the positions of the proletariat. Moreover, the proletarian party must never make concessions in what respects to organizational and ideological Marxist-Leninists principles. Therefore, one of the aspects which distinguishes Marxism-Leninism from Maoism is that the genuine Marxist-Leninists must never deviate from the principle that this kind of alliances are nothing more than temporary situations and the Marxist-Leninist party must always persist in its objective of destruction of the bourgeoisie even while temporarily in alliance with that same bourgeoisie. In reality, after the implementation of the proletarian dictatorship, there can be no other party besides the proletarian and communist party, there can be no other class interests besides the ones of the proletarian classes (the working class, the peasantry and the intellectuals born from these two oppressed classes), and there can be no other ideology besides Marxism-Leninism (this is not to say that bourgeois influences will not persist during some time, but the tendency must always be towards their inexorable disappearance, contrary to what happened in Maoist China).

Indeed, more than entering in an alliance and sharing the power with the bourgeoisie, what Mao proposes is that the proletariat should be controlled by the “democratic” (read: bourgeois) parties:

“The possibility that the democratic parties can exist during a long period is not only determined by the desires of the Communist Party, that depends also on the behavior of the democratic parties and on the confidence that the people has in these parties. [...] Of course, the mutual control is not unilateral, the Communist Party will control the democratic parties and these democratic parties will equally control the Communist Party.” (Mao Zedong, *De la juste solution des contradictions au sein du peuple*, Textes choisis, Pékin, 1972, p. 509, translated from French language).

If there were still any doubts about the reactionary and anti-communist nature of the Mao Zedong though, here it is the final answer. What Mao is defending is that the proletariat and the

communist party should rely on the bourgeois parties and on the non-communists in order to... achieve communism! This is totally illogical from a Marxist-Leninist point of view. To really edificate communism, it is indispensable to annihilate without mercy ALL the bourgeois and exploitative classes (the imperialist bourgeoisie, the great land owners, the petty-bourgeoisie, the reactionary bourgeoisie, the "progressive" bourgeoisie etc. etc...). Moreover, in the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, there can be only one party: the proletarian party, the vanguard party of the working class which is leading the oppressed masses towards socialism and communism. After the establishment and consolidation of the proletarian power, it's illogical and reactionary to admit and defend the existence of any other parties representing non-proletarian classes. The proletarian party must lead the exploited classes and it constitutes one of the main instruments through which the proletariat exercises the revolutionary armed violence against the bourgeois and oppressive classes. That's why nearly all kinds of revisionist currents have denied the leading role of the proletarian and communist party. It is very interesting to observe how the Marxist-Leninist conceptions of Comrade Enver Hoxha regarding the leading role of the proletarian party are in total contrast with those of Mao:

"The revolution is a rupture with a whole world and a whole tradition. We should never forget that: the class struggle continues during the entire period of the edification of the socialist society and also while the communist society is still not completely secured. During all this time, the political parties express the interests of determined classes. **Only an absurd opportunism can defend the presence of non-proletarian parties within the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, foremost after the edification of the economical base of the socialist system. This evolution, far from constituting a violation of freedom, is in fact consolidating the authentic proletarian democracy.** The character of a social order is not determined by the number of parties. It is determined by its economical base, by the class which controls the state power, by the state policy which is or not at the service of the broad masses.

The modern revisionists (...) deny the leading role of the proletarian party in what concerns the seizure of power and the edification of socialism. **Their propaganda even argues that it is possible to achieve socialism having the bourgeois and the petty-bourgeois parties as the main leading forces.** (...) This conception represents a total betrayal of the Marxist-Leninist principles and of the revolutionary cause of the working class." (Enver Hoxha cited by Gilbert Mury in *Enver Hoxha contre le revisionisme*, Paris, 1972, translated from French language).

And referring to the Democratic Front in Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha underlines that:

"This Front is not a political party, nor a coalition of parties: in our country, there

are no other parties besides the Party of Labour of Albania.” (Enver Hoxha cited by Gilbert Mury in *Enver Hoxha contre le revisionisme*, Paris, 1972, translated from French language).

The fake “Marxist” phraseology used by Mao when he says the “New Democracy” will refuse the “bourgeois dictatorship” and that “The Chinese democratic republic must be a democratic republic under the joint dictatorship of all anti-imperialist and anti-feudal people led by the proletariat (...).” is nothing more than an attempt to hide the democratic-bourgeois, anti-imperialist character of the Maoist ideological conceptions. That’s why the Chinese revisionists always supported the “non-aligned movements”; because those petty-bourgeois movements also had the same tendency of refusing both imperialism and socialist revolution while serving the interests of the national bourgeoisie of the semi-colonial countries which wanted to get rid of the limitations imposed by the foreign capitalists and by the bourgeoisie-compradore with the purpose of conducting the capitalist system in favor of its own interests (the social-fascist theory of the “three worlds”, which we will analyze, has its origins in this opportunistic and petty-bourgeois character of the Maoist ideology).

In his book *Reflections on China*, Comrade Enver Hoxha characterized the Maoist “New Democracy” in a very assertive manner:

“Mao Tse-Tung and the comrades around him were not genuine Marxist-Leninists, they were progressive bourgeois democrats, Marxists in appearance and phraseology, but who fought, and fought to the end, for the consolidation of a progressive bourgeois-democratic great state, for a «new democracy», as Mao Tse-Tung called it.” (Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China*, 26th December of 1977, Tirana, 1979, edition in English).

The opportunistic, revisionist and anti-Marxist conceptions of Mao can also be observed in his descriptions of the economical aspects of the “New Democracy”:

“In the new-democratic republic under the leadership of the proletariat, the state enterprises will be of a socialist character and will constitute the leading force in the whole national economy, **but the republic will neither confiscate capitalist private property in general nor forbid the development of such capitalist production** as does not “dominate the livelihood of the people”, for China’s economy is still very backward.” (Mao Zedong, *New Democracy*, January of 1940, edition in English).

This paragraph constitutes the admission by Mao himself that the “New Democracy” will be nothing more than the social-fascist dictatorship of the national bourgeoisie. If the “the republic will neither confiscate capitalist private property in general nor forbid the development of such capitalist production”, then how will the proletariat concentrate the means of production in its hands with the purpose of achieving state power? Every Marxist-Leninist knows that while

“capitalist private property” and “capitalist production” continues to exist, it will always perpetuate wage slavery and the exploitation of man by man.

“China's economy must develop along the path of the "regulation of capital" and the "equalization of landownership", and must never be "privately owned by the few"; we must never permit the few capitalists and landlords to "dominate the livelihood of the people"; we must never establish a capitalist society of the European-American type or allow the old semi-feudal society to survive.” (Mao Zedong, New Democracy, January of 1940, edition in English).

As we have already said, the “C” P C was the representative of the interests of the anti-imperialist national bourgeoisie. It is quite normal that its objectives were limited to the struggle against the Japanese imperialist aggression and the bourgeoisie-compradore. Indeed, all the objectives of the “C”P C were kept within the limits of the bourgeois-democratic anti-colonial revolution, because the class which was leading the revolution and which seized state power in China in 1949 was precisely the “radical” national bourgeoisie and not the proletariat. The great problem with the so-called Mao Zedong Thought is that Mao tried to hide its bourgeois and reactionary conceptions under a “socialist” and “revolutionary” cloak which continues to mislead the oppressed working masses which see Maoism as a “development” of Marxism-Leninism, when in fact Maoism is a deformation of Marxism-Leninism, when in fact Maoism serves not to eliminate the capitalist system, but to perpetuate it in favor of the “progressive” section of the national bourgeoisie. The “anti-monopolist” claims made by Mao are proof of this. The truth is that Maoist conceptions are frighteningly similar to bourgeois Keynesianism and to the anti-monopolism of many revisionist parties. And before that the fascists of the MLM start saying that all this is nothing more than a product of the “imagination” of the “Hoxhaïtes”, here it is the confirmation of what is being said coming from Mao himself:

“The revolution of the New Democracy only wants to eliminate feudalism and the monopolist capitalism, only wants to eliminate the great land owners and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, and not capitalism in general, nor the superior branch of neither the petty-bourgeoisie nor the middle bourgeoisie.” (Mao Zedong, « La situation actuelle et nos tâches », Oeuvres choisies, Pékin, 1967, t. IV, translated from French language).

One of the main purposes of chinese revisionism is to “regulate” capitalism in order to maintain the system of exploitation, its objective is to try to avoid the periodical crisis of capitalism and to deny the proletarian character of the revolution.

When studying the “Mao Zedong Thought”, we easily note that its ideas are intimately related with those of one of the most known European revisionist leaders: Maurice Thorez, the leader of the French Revisionist Party. One of the most known historical examples of revisionist

relations between the bourgeoisie and the “communist” party is precisely the 1936 Popular Front, whose objectives were clearly appointed by the French revisionist leadership as being reduced to “Peace, Bread and Independence for all”. Can anybody imagine a more reactionary, reformist, capitulationist and anti-socialist slogan? Just like Mao, Thorez will also configure the communist party as a party of various classes. If Mao has painted the anti-imperialist revolution as the final objective which justified the permanent alliance with the “progressive” bourgeoisie, Thorez has made the same with the opportunistic “United Front of the French nation against the oligarchic classes”. Just like Mao, Thorez also proposed an anti-monopolist unity:

“According to the existing social conditions, our society is divided in multiple classes. The capitalist oligarchy exploits the working class, it also exploits the middle classes constituted by peasants, by artisans, industrials (?!!!), people of commerce and liberal professions, etc. **The Communist Party is conceived in function of the necessities of the struggles of the people against the oligarchs.**” (Etudes et Documents Marxistes-Léninistes - Pour la lutte théorique, N° 1, décembre 1979. 58 L'Ecole élémentaire du Parti communiste français - Troisième leçon : Le Parti, Paris, 1936, Ed. la Section nationale d'éducation du Parti communiste français, p. 6., translated from French language).

Mao and Thorez completely corrupted and denied the proletarian character of the Communist Party by posing as the only legitimate leaders of their respective parties, by thwarting criticism and self-criticism inside their respective parties, by trying to “legitimate” their union with the national bourgeoisies of their countries and by keeping the oppressed and exploited classes away from the idea of the socialist revolution through making the bourgeois-democratic and anti-monopolist revolution as an end in itself.

However, the ultra-reformist strategy of the “anti-monopolist front” was not the only “idea” that the Chinese revisionists “borrowed” from revisionism of the classical type. In fact, just like Bernstein, Togliatti, Thorez, the Krushchevists, the Eurocommunists, etc. the Chinese revisionists also openly defend the “peaceful way to socialism”. In truth, their defense of this “peaceful transition” is synonym of a direct negation of the proletarian dictatorship.

Flagrantly denying the most basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, the Chinese revisionist leaders affirm the following:

“If we have adopted the policy of the struggle in favor of the union towards the national bourgeoisie, that's mainly with the purpose of educating the national bourgeoisie.”

We think that we should follow the principle of the “long term coexistence and mutual control between the Communist Party and the democratic parties and groups. The social base of these parties and groups is the national bourgeoisie, some branches of the petty-bourgeoisie

*and the intellectuals. [...] The bourgeois ideology will exist for a relatively long time (...) the democratic groups and parties should represent this ideology **and help it to reeducate itself.***

*[...] the democratic and popular dictatorship has become, by its own nature, a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and this permits that our bourgeois-democratic revolution can be directly transformed into a socialist and proletarian revolution **through peaceful means.**" (Liou Chao Chi, Rapport politique du Comité central du Parti communiste chinois au VIIIe Congrès national du PCC, Pékin, 1956, translated from French language).*

Reeducation of the bourgeoisie?!!! The bourgeoisie doesn't exist to be educated! It exists to be exterminated by the proletariat through revolutionary violence! Lenin once said that the great problems of humanity were always solved through violence and this is foremost applicable to the elimination of the bourgeoisie, to the annihilation of the capitalist system and to the edification of socialism and communism.

This capitulationism idea is closely related with the "theory" of the "peaceful transition" to socialism through bourgeois means; it is linked with the Eurocommunist and reformist idea of "humanizing" and "educating" capitalism. The image of the "civilized" capitalism is common to all revisionist currents and Maoism is no exception.

And there's more:

*"The bourgeois elements have become members of the administrative staff in the mixed enterprises **and they are being transformed from exploiters into workers which live through their own workforce**; on the other hand, they still receive a fixed amount from those enterprises (...)" (Mao Zedong, De la juste solution des contradictions au sein du peuple , Textes choisis, Pékin, 1972, translated from the French language).*

This statement is an example of the many things that Maoism has in common with Boukharinism. This bourgeois current is centered on the idea of the "peaceful" integration and inclusion of capitalism and capitalist elements within socialism, it is based on the idea of the "joint government" of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in order to undermine the edification of socialism through capitulation to bourgeois and non-proletarian influences and elements.

The utopian character of the Maoist ideology can also be noted in its presumption that the exploitative tendencies of the bourgeoisie can be gradually removed and that the bourgeois elements can be turned into inoffensive proletarian elements living "through their own workforce". Moreover, it is astonishing to see that in "communist" china, the bourgeoisie continued to exploit the working people through the "mixed enterprises" which were nothing more than a disguise to the bourgeois and fascist dictatorship that Mao and the other Chinese

revisionists implemented in China.

The documents and excerpts presented above prove that, contrary to what the fascists of the MLM might argue, the anti-Marxist conceptions of the Maoist ideology were not limited to the first phases of the “Mao Zedong thought”. In fact, one just has to look to the documents of the period after 1949, when the power of the national bourgeoisie guided by the “C” PC was already assured, to conclude that these conceptions were not temporary errors, but represent the general and definitive ideological constructions which constitute the main pillars of the Maoist bourgeois and reactionary ideology.

It's not by chance that Comrade Stalin was always distrustful about the true character of the Chinese “socialist” revolution. He understood the bourgeois nature of that “revolution” and said that:

“In China, we cannot speak about a socialist revolution neither in the urban areas, nor in the rural areas. It's true that certain enterprises have been nationalized, but their number is irrelevant.”

Stalin's suspicions regarding the Chinese “revolution” are acknowledged by Mao himself who declared that:

“Since the beginning of the war, Stalin was very skeptical towards us. When we won the war, Stalin perceived our victory as being of the same kind of that of Tito, and in 1949 he exercised a very strong pression upon us.” (Mao Zedong, *Oeuvres choisies*, Tome V, translated from French language).

We must bear in mind that Mao's works were published in the Soviet Union only after Stalin's death. And this is not surprising. If they were published while Stalin was still alive, then Mao would have received the same treatment as Tito, that's for sure.

In fact, many years before Mao's 1949 bourgeois revolution, Stalin analyzed the conditions of the Chinese “revolutionary” movement and harshly criticized the “rightist deviationism” that existed within that movement:

“... the rightist deviationism that jeopardizes that independent class objectives of the chinese proletariat and is leading it towards an amorphous fusion with the national democratic movement.” (Stalin, *La question nationale et coloniale*, translated from French language).

We cannot separate this distrust of Stalin from his struggle against the already mentioned Boukharinist ideas which preached the “integration” of capitalist elements within socialist society:

"Boukharin's greatest mistake is that he concedes that the koulaks and other bourgeois elements (...) can be integrated within socialism. This theory is a total absurd! The capitalists, the kulaks, the representatives of the foreign imperialists can be integrated in socialist society, according to Boukharin. We certainly don't want this kind of "socialism". We will not adhere to Boukharin's conceptions. **We, Marxist-Leninists, we think that there are irreconcilable differences between the capitalists and the proletariat. This is the base of the Marxist theory of the class struggle. But the Boukharinist theory about the peaceful integration of the capitalist elements within socialism contradicts the most basic Marxist principles, it contradicts the inevitable opposition between the exploiters and the exploited because the exploiters are included within socialist system.** (Stalin, The questions of Leninism II, 1931, translated from French language).

It is astonishing the way in which these criticisms made by Stalin in 1927 perfectly fit Maoist revisionism:

"But if the capitalist of the urban areas and of the rural areas; if the kulaks and the other bourgeois elements are integrated in the socialist system, for what would serve the dictatorship of the proletariat? And even if it could serve for something, we have to wonder what would be the class it would repress." (Stalin, The questions of Leninism, 1931, translated from French language).

Comrade Stalin's correct analysis of the fake Maoist "revolution" was praised by Comrade Enver Hoxha in the Volume II of "Reflections on China":

"When China was liberated, Stalin expressed his doubt that the Chinese leadership might follow the Titoite course. Glancing over all the main principles of Mao Tsetung's revisionist line, in regard to all those things which he raises against Stalin, we can say without reservation that Stalin was truly a great Marxist-Leninist who foresaw correctly where China was going, who long ago realized what the views of Mao Tsetung were, and saw that, in many directions, they were Titoite revisionist views, both on international policy and on internal policy, on the class struggle, on the dictatorship of the proletariat, on peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems, etc." (Enver Hoxha, Reflections on China, Volume II, December 28, 1976, Tirana, 1979, edition in English).

Stalin was right about all these aspects and he saw clearly that the chinese "new democracy" was nothing more than the dictatorship of the national and "patriotic" bourgeoisie. In truth, if we analyze Mao's works, we will always find the idea of the "development" of capitalism. For example, some months before the 1949 revolution, Mao affirmed that: "(...) we must permit the existence and the development of all the capitalist elements which are

profitable and which don't jeopardize the national economy".

However, Mao goes even further and affirms that:

*"(...) capitalism will be limited in China through various means: through restrictions in its activities, through taxes, through market prices and through working conditions. We will adopt an appropriate policy regarding the limitation of capitalism, according to the specific conditions of each place, of each section and of each period. It is very useful to remember the teachings of Sun Yat-sen about "controlled capitalism". **Therefore, it is in the interests of the national economy, of the working class and of all workers not to impose excessive limitations upon capitalist economy, but on the contrary, we should let that economy to exist and to develop** in the context of the economical policy and of the economic planification of our popular republic". (Mao Zedong, Sur la dictature populaire démocratique — cited by Yu Hai in Le rôle de la bourgeoisie nationale dans la révolution chinoise, in Cahiers du communisme, août 1950, translated from french language)*

This development of capitalism means in fact the perpetuation of capitalism. And Mao even dares to say that this maintenance of the capitalist system is in the interests of the working class! Mao's ideology is very similar to that of the openly pro-capitalist politicians which declare that "although capitalism is not perfect, the truth is that it creates wealth and permits that the proletariat can benefit of a consumer society".

Even today, there are many Maoists which still claim that this perpetuation of capitalism is not anti-Marxist, but on the contrary it can be compared to the New Economic Policy (NEP) practiced by Lenin in the Soviet Union. What those Maoists "forget" to say is that the NEP was absolutely necessary in the context of the Soviet Union in the early 20's because the country's economy was totally ruined after 6/7 years of uninterrupted war (first, the four years of the First World War, second, the horrendous Russian civil war caused by the invasion of the capitalist powers with the objective of overthrow Bolshevik power), because the alliance between the proletariat and the immense peasantry was still not consolidated, because of the backward characteristics of the Russian economy, because the analphabetism of the Russian workers and their lack of experience in what concerned economic management caused great difficulties in the feeding of the population and because the presence of the petty-bourgeois elements in the economy was overwhelming. For all these reasons, it was permitted that, during some time, the petty-bourgeois elements could operate within straight limits with the purpose of revitalizing the economy. Nevertheless, we must always bear in mind that Lenin saw the NEP merely as a temporary process which would be surpassed through the development of the economic base of the socialist system and the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This conception is in total contrast with that of the Maoists which see the "development of capitalism"

as a definitive process and not as a temporary stage imposed by harsh historical and economical conditions.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha states:

“Mao Tsetung has presented his opportunist stand towards the bourgeoisie as a creative implementation of the teachings of Lenin on the New Economic Policy (NEP). **But there is a radical difference between the teachings of Lenin and the concept of Mao Tsetung on allowing unrestricted capitalist production and maintaining bourgeois relations in socialism.** Lenin admits that the NEP was a step back which allowed the development of elements of capitalism for a certain time, but he stressed:

«... there is nothing dangerous to the proletarian state in this so long as the proletariat keeps political power firm/y in its hands, so long as it keeps transport and big industry firm/y in its hands»'.

In fact, neither in 1949 nor in 1956, when Mao Tsetung advocated these things, did the proletariat in China have political power or big industry in its own hands.

Moreover, Lenin considered the NEP as a **temporary measure which was imposed by the concrete conditions** of Russia of that time, devastated by the long civil war, and not as a universal law of socialist construction. And the fact is that one year after the proclamation of the NEP Lenin stressed that the retreat was over, and launched the slogan to prepare for the offensive against private capital in the economy. Whereas in China, the period of the preservation of capitalist production was envisaged to last almost eternally.” (Enver Hoxha, Imperialism and the Revolution, Tirana, 1979, edition in English).

Nowadays, there are even Maoists who claim that the predatory social-Darwinist capitalism which dominates today's China is “a new NEP”!!! To qualify the bourgeois-capitalist economy that existed in China until the middle 70's as “socialist” is completely erroneous and reveals total ignorance of the most basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, but to paint today's chinese neo-liberal economy as a “new NEP” means to openly defend the fascist dictatorship which is governing China.

Chinese economy was never socialist, nor in the 50's, nor today. The truth is that the chinese national bourgeoisie could not have dreamt about an ideology who could better serve its class interests than Maoism. And this because Maoism permitted that national bourgeoisie could exploit the proletariat in a “peaceful” and “controlled” manner while hiding behind a “Marxist” and “revolutionary” mask. One of the main reasons why Chinese national bourgeoisie supported Maoism was because of its “leftist” outlook which misled Chinese working masses.

We can affirm that Maoism granted the Chinese bourgeoisie with a certain “safety”. Maoism was the best way that the Chinese national bourgeoisie could have found in order to neutralize the revolutionary feelings which existed among the Chinese proletariat. Instead of sitting idle seeing the Chinese oppressed classes adhering to Marxist-Leninist ideology and developing revolutionary conscience in order to accomplish proletarian revolution, the Chinese “patriotic” bourgeoisie elaborated its own “revolutionary” ideology and accomplished its own “revolution”. Of course, this bourgeoisie could never reveal that this “ideology” was simply covering the implementation of its dictatorship, because otherwise it would never seduce the Chinese exploited classes. The Chinese national bourgeoisie solved this problem in a very cunning way. It dressed its own bourgeois ideology with “Marxist-Leninist” clothes and with “revolutionary” phraseology with the purpose of winning the oppressed classes to its side. The Chinese national bourgeoisie used the mask of Marxism-Leninism in order to hide its exploitative and reactionary class interests and to conquer economical and political power.

Nowadays, large sectors of the world proletariat are still deceived by Maoists which try to force the oppressed masses to “recognize” Maoism as the “third stage” of communism, after Marxism and Leninism (thus openly negating Stalinism and Hoxhaism). They even qualify their reactionary and anti-Marxist ideology as “the highest development” of Marxism-Leninism. This arrogant attitude has been a constant in the history of Maoist revisionism. Maoists always tried to paint themselves as “the greatest developers of the proletarian ideology” in order to hide their anti-socialist intentions and their support of Chinese social-imperialism. Maoists have also tried to paint themselves as “ardent anti-revisionists”. One of the main arguments utilized by them in order to “prove” their “anti-revisionism” is the fake “defense of Stalin” allegedly made by Mao in the context of the revisionist takeover in the Soviet Union.

What the Chinese revisionists did was to use Stalin’s name and legacy with the aim of covering their reactionary, anti-communist and social-fascist ideology with a “revolutionary” disguise. When analyzing Comrade Enver Hoxha’s “Reflections on China” and “The Krushchevists”, we conclude that he suspected of Maoism’s nature from the very beginning, but he tried to correct the Chinese “comrades” by advising them and informing them about the ideological divergences that existed between the CPC and the PLA:

“We were said that Mao was applying an interesting line of socialist edification in China, he collaborated with the local bourgeoisie and with other parties qualified as “democratics”; the communist party permitted and stimulated the existence of mixed enterprises with both private and state capital, it encouraged and remunerated the members of the wealthy classes, which were many times leading those enterprises, etc. All these things were inconceivable for us and despite our efforts, we could not find a single argument in favor of their conformity with Marxism-Leninism.

However, we thought that China was a great country, populated by millions of people, which has just emerged from a bourgeois-feudal past, it has a lot of problems and difficulties to surpass and, in time, we thought that it would rectify its errors, thus getting back to the correct Marxist-Leninist road." (Enver Hoxha, *Les khrouchtchéviens*, Tirana, 1980, translated from French language).

This was the general line followed by the PLA towards the CPC during the period 1949-1956.

Comrade Enver noted that in 1956, in the context of the XXth Congress of the CPSU, the CPC assumed openly revisionist positions. The meeting between Comrade Enver and Mao Zedong which occurred in 1956, on the occasion of Enver's visit to China, is described as deceitful by Comrade Enver himself:

"In truth, our impressions regarding this meeting were not what we expected (...) We had not acquired any kind of useful learning and experiences, and we perceived that this meeting was a mere courtesy act. **We were surprised by Mao's words and opinions about the Kominform, about Stalin and about the Yugoslav question.**" (Enver Hoxha, *Les khrouchtchéviens*, Tirana, 1980, translated from French language).

In fact, during the meeting, Mao expressed views and opinions which were in total accordance with the ultra-revisionist, opportunist and anti-Marxist line which was dominating the communist movement in 1956. For example, regarding the Yugoslav question, Mao said:

"In that question, you Albanians did not commit any errors towards the Yugoslavs, and the Yugoslavs did not commit any errors towards you. It's the Kominform which is responsible for grave errors." (Enver Hoxha, *Les khrouchtchéviens*, Tirana, 1980, translated from French language).

So, according to Mao, the Marxist-Leninists of the PTA and the social-fascists of the Tito's clique were totally equal. "Nor the Albanians nor the Yugoslavs committed mistakes", is what Mao says, and then he affirms that all that happened is Kominform's fault! To affirm this is to openly defend Titoite imperialism which tried to transform Albania in the seventh Yugoslav republic. From the very beginning, even during the Second World War, the Titoites always tried to hinder Albania's independence. They tried through all means to control the Albanian partisans and to subjugate them to the orders and discipline of the Yugoslav Communist Party. The Titoites were always interfering in the internal affairs of the PLA and trying to impose their anti-Marxist line. They hired agents and spies and infiltrated them within the PLA in order to sabotage its Leninist line and to turn Albania into a Yugoslav satellite.

But let's return to Mao's affirmations during the meeting with Comrade Enver. When Mao asked Comrade Enver what he thought about Stalin, Enver proudly defended Stalin's legacy. However, Mao disagreed with him and said:

"Stalin made mistakes. He made mistakes towards us, for example, in 1927. He made mistakes towards the Yugoslav comrades, too." (Mao cited by Enver Hoxha in The Khrushchevites, Tirana, 1980, edition in English).

This affirmation is totally false; Stalin was never mistaken towards Yugoslav "comrades". On the contrary, he unmasked their true character and objectives, thus making proof of a great Marxist-Leninist wisdom, and he also acted correctly towards Titoite Yugoslavia. The Titoites deserve to be hated and repudiated by all genuine communists because they totally betrayed the aspirations of the Yugoslav peoples, who fought and sacrificed their lives in the struggle against Nazism with the objective of edification of a socialist Yugoslavia. Unfortunately for those peoples, Tito sold the country to the Anglo-Americans and followed a revisionist-capitalist line. It's curious to see that Maoism and Titoism are very similar. Both ideologies are trying to mislead the oppressed masses and to lead them away from the socialist and proletarian revolution, both propagate class reconciliation and incentive the supposed "positive aspects of capitalism" and the "mixed economy" (indeed, both open the path to social-imperialism, but Tito's imperialism was limited to a local scale, while Maoist imperialism, due to China's immense demographic and economic potential, reached a global scale).

As can be seen, the truth is that, in 1956, Mao adopted ultra-revisionist positions regarding Stalin, Tito and the Kominform.

We must keep in mind that, after Comrade Stalin's death, Mao always desired to become leader of the communist movement. In order to achieve that, Mao tried to embrace revisionism and to agree with Khrushchev that "Stalin committed mistakes" (we should also remember Mao's famous sentence: "Khrushchev is the Lenin of our times"). However, Mao's great error was his underestimation of the great esteem that the SU enjoyed among world proletariat and the exploited classes. In 1956, nobody could assertively predict the dimensions that the revisionist disease would reach, and the world communists continued to see the SU as a socialist country. Indeed, the SU was seen with great esteem because it was the country in which the first successful socialist revolution had happened, it was the homeland of Lenin and Stalin, two of the greatest masters of the proletarian ideology. It's true that Comrade Enver Hoxha and the PLA were very suspicious about the line which was being followed in the SU and about Khrushchev's intentions after the death of Stalin, but we must note that the PLA was born in circumstances which armed the Albanian Marxist-Leninists against all kinds of opportunisms. The PLA had to face revisionism since its very foundations and this made the Albanian

communists more able to unmask all kinds of bourgeois ideologies, even the ones which are hidden. That's why the PLA was always in the front line of the struggle against revisionist currents, from Titoism to Maoism. Nonetheless, the great majority of the other Communist Parties embraced Khrushchevist revisionism without almost questioning it. And this ready acceptance was precisely due to the already referred prestige that the SU still enjoyed among the world proletariat.

On the contrary, the chinese 1949 bourgeois-democratic revolution, although seen with sympathy by the communists, did not grant Mao sufficient admiration to obliterate the Soviet Union's role as the center of the communist movement, even because the SU had increased its strength with the essential role it played in the victory against nazi-fascism in the Second World War. For all these reasons, Mao could not accomplish his intentions of becoming the new leader of the communist movement through alliance with the soviet revisionists. In face of this, Mao changed his strategy. Instead of playing the role of the Khrushchev's supporter in the supposed struggle against "Stalin's mistakes and deviations", Mao appeared as the "unwavering Stalinist", as the "orthodox Leninist", as the "great defender of Marxist-Leninist purity". This tactical change occurred at a time in which many communists around the world began to challenge Khrushchev's "anti-Stalin reports" as being anti-Marxist.

Nowadays, Maoists want us to believe that the line of the CPC was always a "Marxist-Leninist", "anti-revisionist and anti-Khrushchevist" line from the very beginning. Unfortunately for the Maoists, the reality was something else. The "anti-revisionist" strategy that Mao adopted in 1960 had nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism. Mao never wanted to truly defend Stalin's legacy. He just used Stalin's name and prestige to achieve his own purposes of becoming the leader of the world communist movement in order to damage this movement with his bourgeois-capitalist "ideas" and to manipulate it in favor of China's ascension as a new superpower. The Chinese revisionists wanted the position occupied by Khrushchev and by the CPSU at the head of the communist movement, but when they saw that they could not achieve that through open revisionism, they invoked a false "anti-revisionist and pro-Stalinist struggle" with the purpose of manipulating the honest communists which were worried about Khrushchev's treacherous line. Maoism was presented to those communists as "the enrichment of Marxism-Leninism", and Mao was the "leader of the struggle against Khrushchev".

Even Maoist criticisms about "soviet social-imperialism" are nothing but a big fraud. Those criticisms are only intended to cover Mao's own social-imperialist intentions and objectives.

Comrade Enver Hoxha exposed all this with Marxist-Leninist precision:

“Many times, I have turned back to this period of the history of the Communist Party of China, trying to figure out how and why the profoundly revisionist line of 1956 subsequently seemed to change direction, and for a time, became “pure”, “anti-revisionist” and “Marxist-Leninist”. It is a fact, for example, that in 1960 the Communist Party of China seemed to be strongly opposing the revisionist theses of Nikita Khrushchev and confirmed that “it was defending Marxism-Leninism” from the distortions which were being made to it, etc. It was precisely because China came out against modern revisionism in 1960 and seemed to be adhering to Marxist-Leninist positions that brought about that our Party stood shoulder to shoulder with it in the struggle which we had begun against the Khrushchevites.

However, time confirmed, and this is reflected extensively in the documents of our Party, that in no instance, either in 1956 or in the '60s did the Communist Party of China proceed or act from the positions of Marxism-Leninism.” (Enver Hoxha, *The Khrushchevites*, Tirana, 1980, edition in English).

And in 1978, by the occasion of the Sino-Albanian split, the Central Committee of the PLA sent a letter to the Central Committee of the CPC which underlined that:

“In the beginning, the CPC was in accord with the PLA in what respected to the polemics between the PLA and the Khrushchevist revisionists. However, this agreement was only superficial because what China really wanted was to reconcile with Soviet revisionists and to avoid the ideological polemic with them. (...) The chinese leaders affirmed that this attitude was on Albania’s interests, but the truth is that to avoid polemics was (...) only advantageous to Khrushchev and to his struggle against socialism and Marxism-Leninism.” (Letter from the Central Committee of the PLA to the Central Committee of the CPC and to the Chinese government, Tirana, 28th July of 1978, translated from French language).

One of the most meaningful episodes involving the CPC’s willingness to reconcile with soviet social-imperialism happened in 1964, when Khrushchev was expelled from power. The Chinese revisionists celebrated this happening as if soviet social-fascism had been totally defeated. They were so anxious and happy about reconciling with soviet revisionism that they sent a delegation to Moscow and wanted the PLA to do the same. Of course, this treacherous and capitulationist proposal was firmly refused by the Albanian Marxist-Leninists:

“The Central Committee of the PLA could not accept this proposal which was synonym of the extinction of the struggle against revisionism and of ideological reconciliation with it. If the PLA had surrender to that line of reconciliation with the soviet revisionists, that would have been catastrophic to the Marxist-Leninist movement

(...). That's why our party firmly rejected the chinese proposal (...). The Central Committee of the PLA sent a letter to the CPC explaining that the reasoning made by the chinese leaders about the changes occurred in the Soviet Union was wrong and that its proposal of sending a delegation to Moscow was unacceptable. In that letter it was said, among other things, that:

"This happening (Khrushchev's expulsion from power), although important and with serious consequences, does not lead revisionism towards its total defeat, it does not represent the final victory of Marxism-Leninism over revisionism, this happening only accelerated the putrefaction of revisionist ideology (...) while Khrushchev's successors are striving to save revisionism through applying the policy of Khrushchevism without Khrushchev." (Letter from the Central Committee of the PLA to the Central Committee of the CPC and to the Chinese government, Tirana, 28th July of 1978, translated from French language).

During the 60's, two major events would demonstrate the anti-Marxist road in which China was engaged and the utopian and petty-bourgeois character of Maoist ideology: the "great leap forward", and especially the "great cultural proletarian revolution".

The "great leap forward" consisted in a totally utopian program to supposedly make China "advance directly to communism". The aims and objectives that Mao imposed over the Chinese people in the context of the "great leap" were completely unrealistic, even because Mao affirmed that those objectives were to be fulfilled in a period of 2-3 years!

Despite China's demographical and territorial potentialities, the fact is that 13 years after Mao's bourgeois anti-imperialist revolution, China's economy was very far from being at its maximum. It's true that extreme poverty was almost eliminated and that some positive improvements were made regarding the living conditions of the popular masses, but it is also true that these improvements were not proportional to the country's potentialities. The main reason for this slow development can be found in the reactionary nature of the 1949 chinese revolution and its maintenance of capitalist and bourgeois elements not only at the key branches of the economy, but also their maintenance in the key branches of the country's government, which was turned from a dictatorship of the imperialist bourgeoisie into a dictatorship of the national "patriotic" bourgeoisie.

However, we must bear in mind that this state of things was not unanimously accepted by the Chinese proletariat; there were many workers who refused to follow Maoist illusions and clearly saw that China was not engaged in a veritable socialist path. These Chinese proletarians were becoming a very inopportune voice, they were very dangerous to the chinese national bourgeoisie because they were breaking the climate of "social peace" that Maoism had implemented in order to allow that chinese bourgeoisie could freely exploit workers without

being disturbed by that horrible thing called class struggle.

It was in this context that Mao tried to mislead the masses through “Marxist” phraseology by falsely declaring that “China will pass directly to the communist phase of the revolution” through the “great leap forward”. This treacherous attempt to mislead the chinese proletariat was unmasked by Comrade Enver Hoxha:

“In a demagogic way, Mao Tse-Tung and the Communist Party of China have subordinated all their declarations about the construction of the socialist and communist society to their pragmatic policy. **Thus, in the years of the so-called great leap forward, with the aim of throwing dust in the eyes of the masses, who, emerging from the revolution, aspired to socialism, they declared that within 2-3 five-year periods, they would pass directly over to communism.** Later, however, in order to cover up their failures, they began to theorize that the construction and triumph of socialism would require ten thousand years.” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English).

During three years (1962-1965), the chinese workers toiled like slaves trying to accomplish an utopian and megalomaniac economical program without any perspectives of success. Indeed, this was so obvious that even top leaders of the CPC were hesitant about following Mao’s directives about the “great leap”. Of course, this “great leap forward” resulted in a great leap backward, because it constituted a horrific failure which put Chinese industry and agriculture in complete chaos and originated a severe famine around the country. For example, the production of carbon and the production of cotton in 1964 were much below the level of 1958. As we said, the impossible character of the “great leap” was visible since the very beginning: the “C” PC planned that with the “great leap forward”, China would be able to produce certain quantities of cereals and steel that were totally exaggerated; for example, the chinese revisionists affirmed that before the end of the “great leap” (1962-1965), China would produce around 750 tons of cereals, but the fact is that China’s production of cereals was still inferior to 500 tons in the late 90’s! The final results of Mao’s “great leap forward” were so disastrous than Mao himself had to make his auto-critic in front of the central committee of the “C”PC.

This is not to agree with the affirmations of the rightist ideologues which affirm that the “great leap forward” was a “communist holocaust” which “claimed up to 30 million of lives”. These affirmations are false, firstly because the death toll they attribute to the “great leap” is ridiculously inflated, and second, even if the death toll of 30 million was true (and it’s not) that would never be a “red genocide” simply because there was never socialism in China. The rightist ideologues sold to the capitalist-revisionist bourgeoisie cannot stand the fact that there are people who dare to struggle against capitalism, people who don’t resignate to the

“consumer society” and to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. For them it is incomprehensible that some people can dedicate their lives to the struggle for the implementation of the proletarian dictatorship and to the edification of the stateless and classless society. That’s why they try to discredit communism through all means. Because they know that it’s to communism that the future belongs, they know that Marxism-Leninism is the only ideology which can completely destroy their beloved capitalism. Their class interests and anti-communism turn them so blind that they are totally unable to distinguish between what is really communist and what is not. For them, everything that qualifies itself as communist is a potential target, no matter if it is really communist, or if, on the contrary, it’s nothing more than bourgeois ideology disguised in Marxist phraseology. That is what happened with the Maoist China and especially with the “great leap forward”.

Some Maoists claim that “one of the signs which indicate that Maoist China was a veritable socialist country is the fact that the openly reactionary bourgeoisie of the capitalist and revisionist countries accused Maoist China with the same arguments it had previously used against Stalin’s SU”. To put things like this is totally fallacious. It’s true that the hypocritical, reactionary and false accusations of the capitalist-revisionist bourgeois “humanitarians” which affirm that the Stalinist Soviet Union supposedly caused “a genocide of enormous proportions” is, in some aspects, very similar to those accusations that the same bourgeoisie adopts towards Maoist China. However, if the formal accusations have important similarities, the truth is that the reasons behind them are radically different. The capitalist-revisionist bourgeoisie tried to discredit the Stalinist proletarian democracy because it constituted a living proof that the proletariat was not eternally condemned to the horrors of capitalism and to the bourgeois tyranny, because it showed that a more humane and advanced social-economical system was not only possible, but also necessary. On the contrary, that same capitalist-revisionist bourgeoisie accused Maoist China of perpetrating “horrific human rights violations” and of being a “communist hell” not because Maoist China constituted a genuine example of Marxist-Leninist edification, but because, due to China’s demographic and territorial weight, its ascension as a new superpower would put the world domination of the imperialist-capitalist-revisionist powers in a great danger.

The capitalist-revisionist bourgeoisie manipulates the pathologic anti-communism of its own ideologues in order to mislead the proletariat. The capitalist-revisionist bourgeoisie understood clearly that the Chinese national bourgeoisie which conquered power and which exploited the chinese proletariat in favor of its own interests and not in the interests of the foreign powers would sooner or later follow an imperialist line which would be a lethal challenge to the capitalist-revisionist bourgeoisie. In discrediting Maoist China as an “unspeakable communist dictatorship”, the capitalist-revisionist bourgeoisie is accomplishing two great aims:

to slander communist ideology while simultaneously discrediting an imperialist rival in unstoppable ascension.

But let's return to the historical course followed by Mao and by the "C"PC. After the "great leap forward", we will now try to analyze the so-called "Great Cultural Proletarian Revolution" which, as Comrade Enver Hoxha correctly affirms:

"(...) was neither a revolution, nor great, nor cultural, and in particular, not in the least proletarian." (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English).

The Cultural Revolution was linked with the already referred Maoist idea that workers' exploitation can be erased without the use of revolutionary violence by the proletariat and that the bourgeois elements can be peacefully converted to socialism through "reeducation":

"In what respects to the national bourgeoisie, a great education effort can be made in the present period towards that class. When the time comes to accomplish socialism, to nationalize private enterprises, we will advance even more in our efforts to reform and to educate the bourgeois elements." (Mao Zedong, *Sur la dictature populaire démocratique* — cited by Yu Hai in *Le rôle de la bourgeoisie nationale dans la révolution chinoise*, in *Cahiers du communisme*, August of 1950, translated from french language).

The ideological roots of the Cultural Revolution were a mixture of multiple anti-Marxist-Leninist currents, including spontaneism, anarchism and, of course, Mao Zedong anti-communist "theories".

To understand the true causes of the Cultural Revolution we must note that after the 1949 chinese revolution, the chinese state appeared as a kind of arbitral organ which kept "social peace" by "regulating" the productive contradictions which existed between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Of course, this arbitral cover was very important to hide the true character of the Maoist state as a dictatorship of the national bourgeoisie; indeed, the improvement of the living conditions of the chinese people after the revolution was linked precisely with this need of creating a false impression among the oppressed classes, making them believe that China was following a socialist path and that the Maoist state was on the side of the proletariat. We have already explained that the 1949 revolution was led by the national bourgeoisie which conquered political and economical power against the interests of the former imperialist bourgeoisie. Therefore, despite the claim that Mao "nationalized" many of the key branches of the economy, the truth is that the chinese national bourgeoisie was never really expropriated. There are two kinds of nationalizations: the nationalizations of the bourgeois type and the nationalizations of the proletarian type. The first type is done in the interests of a certain

branch of the bourgeoisie, while the second type is done against all bourgeois class and with the purpose of destroying the capitalist system. What mainly distinguishes them is that the first is done without veritable expropriation of the bourgeoisie, while the second is done with total expropriation of the entire bourgeois-capitalist class. The nationalizations which took place in Maoist China were clearly included in the first type, they were bourgeois nationalizations which were done with the objective of favoring the interests of the national “patriotic” bourgeoisie by permitting that this class occupied and controlled the direction of the nationalized enterprises. In addition to this situation, we must remember that, outside the nationalized enterprises, there were many essential branches of the economy which were not even formally nationalized and continued openly in the hands of the private bourgeois capital. As we had already explained, the material base of the chinese society continued to be dominated by the capitalist relations of production, and this was reflected in the political, social and cultural superstructure. It is impossible to prevent a class which controls economical power from controlling political power, since the political superstructure is a direct reflex of the material and economic productive base of society. This is what Marxism teaches us. Consequently, it was obvious that Maoist pretensions of “conciliation” of the interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie were entitled to fail from the very beginning. If the proletariat does not establish its dictatorship, then the bourgeoisie will automatically continue to be the dominant class and will continue exploiting the oppressed masses. It’s impossible to find a third way between the bourgeois dictatorship and the proletarian dictatorship.

The causes of the Cultural Revolution are linked with the fact that, since the end of 50’s, the chinese national bourgeoisie was increasingly revealing its reactionary character, it was demanding the end of the Maoist “arbitration state” and the implementation of an openly capitalist dictatorship. This national bourgeoisie was now turned into a veritable state monopolist bourgeoisie which dominated all aspects of the chinese society. Therefore, it’s not surprising that this bourgeoisie which controlled the CPC tried to change the composition of its Central Committee according to its own exploitative interests; the chinese monopolist bourgeoisie tried to replace the centrist faction of Mao by more rightist sections which would erase the last remnants of Marxist phraseology and of apparent “socialist features”.

The Cultural Revolution was promoted by Mao in order to try to reverse the dominance of the more rightist factions of the CPC which were defending the implementation of a capitalist regime with fascist characteristics in the interests of the new monopolist bourgeoisie. Nonetheless, we must bear in mind that Mao did not incentive the Cultural Revolution because he was worried about the reactionary and pro-fascist character of the party factions which were representing the new monopolist bourgeoisie. No. Mao used his own authority to propagate the Cultural Revolution because, in first place, he did not want to be expelled from power by other

party factions (as every bourgeois politician, Mao Zedong had lust for power and, throughout his political career, he did his utmost to keep his political supremacy). We must remember that Mao's prestige was still seriously affected by the failure of the "great leap forward", and the Cultural Revolution was seen by him as an opportunity to reconquer his lost status and to consolidate his positions within the apparatus of the Chinese bourgeois state.

The second reason is that Mao understood very well that, with the establishment of an openly capitalist regime, the Chinese monopolist bourgeoisie would also loose important means which permitted to deceive the chinese proletariat and to keep a climate of "social peace" in which exploitation and wage slavery could be peacefully exercised. We must not forget that Mao's anti-imperialist rhetoric and "socialistic" outlook contributed greatly to the acceptance of the new bourgeois dictatorship by many sectors of the Chinese oppressed masses. The Chinese proletariat was on the side of the national bourgeoisie in the struggle against foreign imperialists, but, contrary to what Mao tried to promote, those two classes continued to have irreconcilable interests and this situation did not change just because they temporarily united in the context of a determined historical period of struggle against external oppressors. Of course, the revisionist Mao tried to perpetuate this "union" between the proletariat and the national bourgeoisie in the interests of the last one, he propagated the false and impossible idea of the "share of power" between those two classes in order to eliminate class struggle and to disguise capitalist exploitation under a "Marxist" and "revolutionary" facade. However, if the monopolist bourgeoisie could install a openly capitalist and pro-fascist regime in China, that "socialist" mask invented by Mao to disguise the exploitative character of the chinese bourgeois state and to keep the chinese proletariat in bondage would totally fall apart. Moreover, Mao was also on the side of that petty-bourgeoisie of the rural and urban areas which still defended the coexistence and conciliation between the multiple classes which constituted the Chinese society. The Cultural Revolution was precisely an attempt to thwart the efforts of important sections of the national monopolist bourgeoisie which wanted complete control of their class over the Chinese bourgeois state, without even the apparent "share of power" which Mao proposed.

And it was for those reasons that Mao promoted the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution".

However, the anti-Marxism of the Cultural Revolution was not limited to its origins and to its reasons of existence. In fact, its anti-Marxist roots were clearly visible in the way it was conducted and directed.

In first place, the Chinese Cultural Revolution was the result of a call made by Mao Zedong as an individual revolutionary enjoying considerable prestige. We must note that Mao enjoyed an immense personal power within the party and controlled his own private militias

which were used by him to secure his positions in face of the threats coming from other rival sections inside the party:

“Recently, «Renmin Ribao» published an article by a so-called theoretical group of the «General Directory» of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. This article says that under the name of the «General Directory», Mao had set up around himself a special apparatus which kept the Political Bureau, the Central Committee of the Party, the cadres of the state, the army, the security service, etc., under surveillance and control. Entry to this Directory and knowledge of its work was forbidden to all, including the members of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau. Here plans for the bringing down or elevation of this or that factionalist group were worked out. The men of this Directory were present everywhere, they eaves-dropped, watched, and reported independently, outside the control of the party.

Apart from them, this Directory had at its disposal entire armed detachments, hidden under the name of the «Guard of Chairman Mao». This praetorian guard more than 50,000 strong went into action whenever the chairman wanted «to act with one blow», as has frequently occurred in the history of the Communist Party of China (...).”(Enver Hoxha, Imperialism and the Revolution, Tirana, 1979, edition in English).

And Mao’s individualist tyranny was not limited to the highest echelons of the party. On the contrary, he exercised his total control even among the population:

Under the pretext of maintaining contacts with the masses, Mao Tse-Tung had also created a special network of informers among the population who were charged with the task of keeping the cadres of the base under surveillance and investigating the conditions and state of mind of the masses, without anybody’s knowledge. They reported directly to Mao Tse-Tung alone, who had severed all means of communication with the masses and saw the world only through the reports of his agents of the «General Directory ». (Enver Hoxha, Imperialism and the Revolution, Tirana, 1979, edition in English).

As can be seen, Mao Zedong repeatedly violated the most basic norms of democratic centralism and of Leninist-Stalinist democracy. This situation happened during the entire period of the Maoist governance, although it was more intense during the Cultural Revolution. Mao Zedong implemented an authentic personal dictatorship, totally outside the control of the party or of the proletariat:

“The article of «Renmin Ribao» provides new information which enables one to understand even more clearly the anti-Marxist direction and personal power of Mao Tse-Tung in the Chinese party and state. Mao Tse-Tung did not have the slightest respect for either the Central Committee or the congress of the party, let alone the party as a whole and its

committees at the base. The party committees, the leading cadres and the Central Committee itself received orders from the «General Directory», this «special staff», which was responsible to Mao Tse-tung alone. The party forums, its elected organs, had no authority whatsoever.

The article of «Renmin Ribao» says, “no telegram, no letter, no document, no order could be issued by anybody without first going through Mao Tse-Tung’s hands and being approved by him». It turns out that as early as 1953. Mao Tse-tung had issued a clear-cut order: «From now on, all documents and telegrams sent out in the name of the Central Committee can be dispatched only after I have gone over them, otherwise they are invalid. **Under these conditions there can be no talk of collective leadership, democracy within the party, or Leninist norms.**” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English).

With this, we note that the leading role played by the revolutionary communist party is totally abandoned by Mao. Instead of that, we have an individual who uses its authority to “ideologically” mobilize certain “popular” branches to serve the interests of the revisionist group led by him (we must never forget that the Cultural Revolution was essentially a dispute for power between different bourgeois-revisionist party factions):

“The figure of Mao Zedong has been blown up until it has reached the dimensions of a Chinese emperor. And indeed, this modern emperor operates omnipotently over his courtiers, who have created an extensive and terrible bureaucracy in which the "brilliant ideas" of the "Great Steersman" are carried out.

He used the Communist Party as a stepping stone and has been doing so whenever he feels like it and as often as he thinks it is "reasonable"; depending on the "dialectical" development of the "contradictions", seen from the perspective of Taoism, he makes people drop from power, attacks the party and liquidates it, starts some "revolution" and balances the power of the courtiers.

He explains all this with allegedly revolutionary phrases which are in fact nothing but more "cultured" actions than those of Emperor Bokassa, the Shah of Iran or the King of Nepal, whom Mao liked very much, whom he welcomed and accompanied, not only because material interests, such as the hope of gaining political advantages and to make them into Chinese satellites, made him do so but also because Mao's philosophy coincided completely with their own.” (Enver Hoxha, Letter to Comrade Hysni Kapo, 30th July of 1978).

Comrade Enver Hoxha affirmed that the main event which made the PLA start to analyze Mao Zedong though in a more profound manner was precisely the Cultural Revolution. For the

Albanian Marxist-Leninists, that was the decisive point which eventually led them to unmask Maoist revisionism and to demarcate themselves from Chinese social-imperialism (although Comrade Enver and the PLA had already previously criticized the CPC's opportunistic features):

“(…) what attracted our Party's attention most was the Cultural Revolution, which raised a number of major questions in our minds. During the Cultural Revolution, initiated by Mao Tsetung, astonishing political, ideological and organizational ideas and actions came to light in the activity of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese state, which were not based on the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

*In judging their previous dubious actions, as well as those observed during the Cultural Revolution, and especially the events following this revolution up till now, the rises and falls of this or that group in the leadership, today the group of Lin Biao, tomorrow that of Teng Hsiao-ping, a Hua Kuo-feng, etc., each of which had its own platform opposed to the other's, **all these things impelled our Party to delve more deeply into the views and actions of Mao Tsetung and the Communist Party of China, to get a more thorough knowledge of «Mao Tsetung thought».***

When we saw that this Cultural Revolution was not being led by the party but was a chaotic outburst following a call issued by Mao Tsetung, this did not seem to us to be a revolutionary stand. It was Mao's authority in China that made millions of unorganized youth, students and pupils, rise to their feet and march on Peking, on party and state committees, which they dispersed.” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English).

According to Comrade Enver, what really upset the Albanian communists was the fact that the Cultural Revolution was a “mass movement” with spontaneist and anarchist features which completely excluded the leading role not only of the party, but also of the proletariat:

“(…) the main thing was the fact that neither the party nor the proletariat was in the leadership of this «great proletarian revolution». This grave situation stemmed from Mao Tsetung's old anti-Marxist concepts of underestimation of the leading role of the proletariat and overestimation of the youth in the revolution. Mao wrote: «What role did the Chinese young people begin to play since the 'May 4th Movement'? In a way they began to play a vanguard role — a fact recognized by everybody in our country except the ultra-reactionaries. What is a vanguard role? It means taking the lead.. .»'. Thus the working class was left on the sidelines (…)” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English).

It is a well known fact that one of the most famous characteristics of Maoist ideology is

constituted by its eagerness to put every social class leading the revolution. Every social class...except the proletariat, of course. For example, during the Cultural Revolution, Mao considered the youth as the social branch which must play the leading role in the revolution. This idea is totally anti-Marxist. It's true that the youth is a very progressive force, that it has a tendency to follow what is new and to reject what is old and backward. Nonetheless, this does not mean that it should lead the proletarian revolution. The same can be said about the peasantry. Although the small peasantry (and in the beginning stages of the revolution, also certain branches of the medium peasantry) can play an important and even decisive role in the victory of the proletarian revolution, the peasantry can never replace the proletariat as the leading force of the communist revolution:

"Mao has said that all other political parties and forces must submit to the peasantry and its views. «... millions of peasants will rise like a mighty storm, a force so swift and violent that no power, however great, will be able to hold it back... he writes. «They will put to the test every revolutionary party and group, every revolutionary, so that they either accept their views or reject them»". According to Mao, it turns out that the peasantry and not the working class should play the hegemonic role in the revolution.

Mao Tse-Tung also preached the thesis on the hegemonic role of the peasantry in the revolution as the road of the world revolution. Herein lies the source of the anti-Marxist concept that considers the so-called third world, which in Chinese political literature is also called «the countryside of the world», as the « main motive force for the transformation of present-day society».

According to the Chinese views, the proletariat is a second rate social force, which cannot play that role which Marx and Lenin envisaged in the struggle against capitalism and the triumph of the revolution, in alliance with all the forces oppressed by capital. The Chinese revolution has been dominated by the petty- and middle bourgeoisie. This broad stratum of the petty-bourgeoisie has influenced the whole development of China. **Mao Tse-Tung did not base himself on the Marxist-Leninist theory which teaches us that the peasantry, the petty-bourgeoisie in general, is vacillating. Of course, the poor and middle peasantry plays an important role in the revolution and must become the close ally of the proletariat. But the peasant class, the petty-bourgeoisie, cannot lead the proletariat in the revolution. To think and preach the opposite means to be against Marxism-Leninism. Herein lies one of the main sources of the anti-Marxist views of Mao Tse-Tung, which have had a negative influence on the whole Chinese revolution.** The Communist Party of China has not been clear in theory about the basic revolutionary guiding principle of the hegemonic role of the proletariat in the revolution, and consequently it did not apply it in practice properly and consistently. Experience shows that the peasantry can play its revolutionary role

only if it acts in alliance with the proletariat and under its leadership. (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English).

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the peasantry is a vacillating class, that the proletariat must convince it and inculcate in it its scientific revolutionary theory. The Maoist theory which absolutizes the role of the peasantry and directly refuses the principles of Marxism-Leninism about the role of the proletariat brought horrific consequences to the entire communist movement. One of the most dramatic cases in which Mao's abject and anti-communist theory of the "encirclement of the city by the countryside" assumed extremist features was that of Cambodia under Pol Pot (a subject which we will develop later in this article).

Therefore, the leading role in the proletarian revolution should always belong to the working class (the proletariat). If the revolution is not led by the proletariat, that means that the revolution has not a Marxist-Leninist and communist character. Anyone who denies the leading role of the proletariat in the communist revolution is an Anti-Marxist-Leninist and must be implacably fought, and the truth is that Maoism rejected the leading role of the proletariat both in theory and in practice. Indeed, it is impossible to speak about the leading role of the proletariat in a context like that of Maoist China, in which the national bourgeoisie dominated the material base of the economical power, and consequently dominated the social and political superstructure which permitted the perpetuation of capitalist exploitation.

The anarchist characteristics of the Cultural Revolution are intimately related to the leftist anti-Marxist conceptions of Mao Zedong which were highlighted during the Cultural Revolution:

"To encourage the freedom of expression, it's to encourage the public voice, so that every person can freely speak and criticize. (Citation by Mao Tse-Tung, 16th May of 1966).

In the context of the Great Cultural Proletarian Revolution, the masses can only liberate themselves and we can never pretend to act in their place." (Decision of the Central Committee of the CPC about the Great Cultural Proletarian Revolution, 8th August of 1966, Beijing).

This theory about the auto-liberation of the masses clearly reveals the idealist and voluntarist nature of the Maoist conceptions. Indeed, this false idea of "letting the masses liberate themselves" is common to nearly all Maoist parties around the world, supposedly with the objective of "avoiding bureaucratic deviations". In fact, this theory is very similar to the leftist and anarchist thesis which don't accept what they call "socialism imposed from above"; or in other words, which don't accept the leading role of the communist party as the vanguard of the proletariat in alliance with the other exploited classes. This negation of the leading role of the proletarian class leads directly to the negation of the necessity of the implementation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This kind of thesis of anarchist inspiration invariably emerges in situations of social tensions, but in which there is not a veritable Marxist-Leninist party to lead the oppressed classes and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Regarding the anarchist features of the Mao Zedong Thought in general, and of the "Cultural Revolution" in particular, Comrade Enver Hoxha remarked that:

"One must not label Mao Zedong as a "prophet" of the revolution but as a "prophet of the counter-revolution". He represented the type of the Anarchist in whose blood runs confusion, chaos, the undermining of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism, but under the condition that this permanent anarchy was led by him or by his typical Chinese anarchist ideology. Mao Zedong is a Chinese Bakunin. The Cultural Revolution was an expression of the ideas and action of this Chinese Bakunin.

The chaos which resulted in China, originated from this anti-Marxist, traitorous line of Mao Zedong and his courtiers, a chaos full of defeats in politics, ideology and economy was fought by the "Great Steersman" through the anarchy of the Cultural Revolution.

This anarchist revolution saved the Maoist absolute rule but contained the risk of undermining it, too. *The "prestige" of the "Steersman" had to be saved, the anarchy was not allowed to topple the myths, therefore military measures were taken.*

The character of bureaucracy with the courtier Zhou Enlai-Confucius was saved and supposedly "younger" "revolutionary" elements were integrated into the scene of agitation and propaganda, for whom the "Steersman" had intended the role of painting out the anarchy as a "revolution within the revolution" by which the alleged bourgeoisie, which had infiltrated the party, was supposed to be eliminated.

But in fact there was no party, but only the bourgeoisie, there were clans and fractions which were fighting for power. This was the Trotskyist "permanent revolution", led by Mao Zedong-Trotsky." (Enver Hoxha, Letter to Comrade Hysni Kapo, 30th July of 1978).

At this point, another question is posed: Maoists are always abstractly referring to the "masses", but what do they mean with that? It's not by chance that their definition of "masses" is so vague and empty. This is because, behind the so-called masses, the Maoists can justify the existence of various classes under fake "revolutionary" and "socialist" slogans.

It's not astonishing that the CPC practically ceased to exist during the Cultural Revolution. It ceased to exist because, during the Cultural Revolution, there were several revisionist clans within the CPC which fiercely struggled against each other and tried to conquer

power to defend the interests of the branches of the bourgeoisie that were represented by each of them. In this context, the CPC was “neutralized” simply because it had no independent role to play. After this Cultural Revolution, when the victorious branches of the bourgeoisie consolidated their power, then the CPC re-occupied its place as the general committee of the Chinese monopolist bourgeoisie.

The idea of the spontaneous leadership of the masses is also included in the Maoist thesis which propagates the control of the Communist Party by the bourgeois parties and classes. It proposes general criticism among the elements of the various classes existing within the social and economic bourgeois system which constitutes the Maoist definition of “New Democracy”. We may not forget that Mao always defended the “100 schools”, which should debate among them. Of course, those “100 schools” mean a great variety of bourgeois ideologies which, according to Mao, should be allowed not only to exist, but also to develop and to spread their poisonous influence over the proletariat and the exploited masses:

“The revisionist concepts of Mao Tse-Tung have their basis in the policy of collaboration and alliance with the bourgeoisie, which the Communist Party of China has always applied. This is also the source of the anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist course of «letting 100 flowers blossom and 100 schools contend», which is a direct expression of the coexistence of opposing ideologies.

According to Mao Tse-Tung, in socialist society, side by side with the proletarian ideology, materialism and atheism, the existence of bourgeois ideology, idealism and religion, the growth of poisonous weeds» along with «fragrant flowers», etc., must be permitted. Such a course is alleged to be necessary for the development of Marxism, in order to open the way to debate and freedom of thought, while in reality, through this course, **he is trying to lay the theoretical basis for the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie and coexistence with its ideology.”** (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English).

This is in total contrast with what happened in the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin and in Socialist Albania of Comrade Enver Hoxha, where Marxism-Leninism had absolute predominance and was obliterating all kinds of bourgeois ideas and mentalities. In the context of a genuine proletarian dictatorship, there can be no space left for non-Marxist-Leninist ideologies. Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism must be the only ideology allowed and encouraged in all spheres of life. To inculcate Marxism-Leninism in the minds and hearts of all workers is the best way to assure the strengthening of the proletarian dictatorship and the successful edification of the socialist and communist society.

Of course, Maoism rejects all this and proposes a “revolution” made by “various classes” (read: the bourgeoisie). This is on the antipodes of the basic Marxist-Leninist teachings on the major role that the proletariat must play in any authentic proletarian revolution in order to completely remove even the smallest remnants of the bourgeois-capitalist system and ideology.

Comrade Enver Hoxha also notes that Mao’s defense of class reconciliation with the bourgeoisie goes so far that he (Mao) even criticizes the struggle against bourgeois elements and influences:

“Mao Tse-Tung says, «...it is a dangerous policy to prohibit people from coming into contact with the false, the ugly and the hostile to us, with idealism and metaphysics and with the thoughts of Confucius, Lao Tze and Chiang Kai-shek. It would lead to mental deterioration, one-track minds, and unpreparedness to face the world...».

From this Mao Tse-Tung draws the conclusion that idealism, metaphysics and the bourgeois ideology will exist eternally, therefore not only must they not be prohibited, but they must be given the possibility to blossom, to come out in the open and contend. This conciliatory stand towards everything reactionary goes so far as to call disturbances in socialist society inevitable and the prohibition of enemy activity mistaken. «In my opinion, » says he, «whoever wants to provoke trouble may do so for so long as he pleases; and if one month is not enough, he may go on for two, in short, the matter should not be wound up until he feels he has had enough. If you hastily wind it up, sooner or later trouble will resume again».

All these have not been academic contributions to a «scientific» discussion but a counterrevolutionary opportunist political line which has been set up in opposition to Marxism-Leninism, which has disorganized the Communist Party of China, in the ranks of which a hundred and one views and ideas have been circulating and today there really are 100 schools contending. This has enabled the bourgeois wasps to circulate freely in the garden of 100 flowers and release their venom.” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English).

And there’s more:

“(...) openly taking counterrevolutionaries under his protection, Mao Tsetung stated: «... we should kill none and arrest very few... They are not to be arrested by the public security bureaus, prosecuted by the procuratorial organs or tried by the law courts.

Well over ninety out of every hundred of these counterrevolutionaries should be dealt with in this way». **Reasoning as a sophist, Mao Tsetung says that the execution of**

counterrevolutionaries does no good, that such an action allegedly hinders production, the scientific level of the country, and will give us a bad name in the world, etc., that if one counterrevolutionary is liquidated, «we would have to compare his case with that of a second, of a third, and so on, and then many heads would begin to roll. .. once a head is chopped off it can't be restored, nor can it grow again as chives do, after being cut». As a result of these anti-Marxist concepts about contradictions, about classes, and their role in revolution that «Mao Tsetung thought» advocates, China never proceeded on the correct road of socialist construction.” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English).

These quotations of Mao Zedong show clearly that he refused the use of revolutionary violence against the bourgeois and capitalist elements.

We, Stalinists-Hoxhaists, consider revolutionary violence as a fundamental weapon to establish the proletarian dictatorship. Without revolutionary violence, there can be no correct and solid edification of the socialist and communist society.

As a final note on the Cultural Revolution, we must conclude that Mao's ultimate objective was not achieved. Mao failed to keep the apparent “equilibrium” of the Chinese bourgeois state through the supposed “share of power” between the national bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeois peasantry. He could not stop the Chinese monopolist bourgeoisie from putting the Chinese state under its total control and dominance, and Mao could not stop it because the economical power of the bourgeoisie was never eliminated and even the productive relations continued to have a capitalist and bourgeois character during Mao's rule. For these reasons, it was only a question of time until the Chinese national monopolist bourgeoisie would take complete control of the state apparatus, as indeed happened.

The truth is that since the end of the 60's and the begging of the 70's, the Chinese monopolist bourgeoisie was consolidated as the incontestable dominant class in China, thus obliterating any pretensions of the petty-bourgeoisie and even from the peasantry about the “joint dictatorship” of all classes. What the petty-bourgeois classes and also, to a certain extent, the Chinese peasantry did not understand was that, since the end of the 60's, China had entered in a new stage, the stage of the imperialist expansion of the Chinese monopolist bourgeoisie. Immediately after 1949, the greatest concern of the national bourgeoisie was to assure its independence in face of the foreign imperialist powers and of the bourgeoisie linked with them. And this because, in its first stage of development, the Chinese national bourgeoisie had to struggle to avoid that the dependence on foreign imperialisms could maintain the Chinese economy in a backward state. After this, the national bourgeoisie accumulated many resources and developed the internal economy. And that was the point in which Mao's ideas were decisive to serve the interests of the national bourgeoisie. Maoist Thought ideologically

paralyzed the Chinese workers and “united” their interests with those of the national bourgeoisie. We know that this “union” was only superficial and was deeply anti-Marxist, but the fact is that it misled large sectors of the Chinese working masses (Mao’s “socialist” phraseology greatly contributed to this), thus permitting that the Chinese national bourgeoisie could exploit them without worries, thus developing the industrial base of the Chinese economy in order to pave the way for the future ascension of China as a new imperialist superpower.

After the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese national bourgeoisie definitively achieved a monopolist character and took absolute control of the political power. With this, it began to enter into imperialist competition and development, even because its colossal economical power was supported by an advanced and diversified sector of heavy industry and by the endless labor force provided by China’s colossal demographical and territorial dimensions.

It was in this context that the relations between Socialist Albania and Maoist China began to deteriorate seriously. Since the end of the 60’s, the Albanian Marxist-Leninists noticed that the Chinese “comrades” tried to dissuade them from developing the industry of means of production and from accomplishing many projects in various branches of the economy (agriculture, metallurgy, etc...). It is quite clear that the Chinese revisionists wanted to thwart Socialist Albania’s independent course, but they failed due to the heroic efforts of the Albanian proletariat:

“The building of factories of heavy industry in Albania with China’s help had to face many difficulties which were surpassed due to the hard work of the Albanian workers and specialists.” (PLA, Histoire de la construction socialiste en Albanie, translated from french language).

Since 1971, the Chinese revisionists imposed a harsh commercial blockade against socialist Albania and tried by all means to subjugate this country in favor of their imperialist interests. The chinese revisionists even refused to receive delegations from Tirana to discuss the political contradictions which were increasing between the two countries. In fact, the VI Congress of the PLA (1976), in which Comrade Enver Hoxha criticized the Maoist “theory of the three worlds”, was not attended by any chinese delegation.

Social-imperialist China officially broke with Socialist Albania in 1978. This rupture was not something surprising, nor had its origins in the period 1976-1978. On the contrary, the Sino-Albanian split was only the culmination of a long process which had intensified since the late 60’s, but that had its origins in the very beginnings of that decade.

The Albanian Marxist-Leninists trusted the chinese people and thought that the CPC would be able to correct its mistakes and to take a genuine Marxist-Leninist course. Comrade Enver and the other Albanian communists regularly criticized the CPC and told the Chinese

“comrades” about the ideological questions in which they were in disagreement.

Nowadays, there are communist groups which correctly consider Albania as an authentic Socialist country and affirm (also correctly) that the Albanian socialist society was free from revisionist deviations. However, there is one aspect about Socialist Albania’s foreign policy that continues to confuse some of these communist groups and parties: the fact that Albania continued to have apparently friendly diplomatic relations with China until after Mao’s death. Many of the communists which see Mao Zedong Though as a bourgeois-revisionist current wonder why Socialist Albania was not capable of criticizing maoist China earlier.

First of all, we must not forget that the chinese revisionists always tried to hide the truth about the CPC’s internal situation. During many years, the Albanian communists could not have known what was going on within CPC’s ranks:

“(…) we did not have full knowledge about the internal political, economic, cultural, social life, etc. in China. The organization of the Chinese party and state have always been a closed book to us. The Communist Party of China gave us no possibility at all to study the forms of organization of the Chinese party and state. We Albanian communists knew only the general outlines of the state organization of China and nothing more; we were given no possibilities to acquaint ourselves with the experience of the party in China, to see how it operated, how it was organized, in what directions things were developing in different sectors and what these directions were concretely.

The Chinese leaders have acted with guile. They have not made public many documents necessary for one to know the activity of their party and state. They were and are very wary of publishing their documents. Even those few published documents at our disposal are fragmentary.

The four volumes of Mao’s works, which can be considered official, are comprised of materials written no later than 1949, but besides this, they are carefully arranged in such a way that they do not present an exact picture of the real situations that developed in China.

(…) The Chinese leaders did not invite any delegation from our Party to study their experience. And when some delegation has gone there on our Party’s request, the Chinese have engaged in propaganda and taken it here and there for visits to communes and factories rather than give it some explanation or experience about the work of the party. And towards whom did they maintain this strange stand? Towards us Albanians, their friends, who have defended them in the most difficult situations. All these actions were incomprehensible to us, but also a signal that the Communist Party of China did not want to give us a clear picture of its

situation.” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English).

Therefore, it's erroneous to judge the PLA's attitudes towards China as if the Albanian Marxist-Leninists had total knowledge about the reactionary deviations which were happening in China.

Nowadays, thanks to the publication of many books of Comrade Enver and of the PLA, we can have a broader view on this matter and we can say that, in truth, Comrade Enver Hoxha and the PLA effectively criticized Maoist revisionism since the early 60's.

If we search Comrade Enver's *Reflections on China, Volume I*, we will easily observe that Comrade Enver already noted that China was following a centrist course and was reconciling with soviet revisionism in 1962 (see: **Reflections on China Volume I: The Chinese are giving Khrushchev a hand - April 6, 1962; China is proceeding on a centrist course - June 13, 1962; The Chinese are moving towards conciliation with the Khrushchevites - July 2, 1962; China is not acting well in failing to reply to Khrushchev's attacks - December 20, 1962; The stands of the Chinese comrades are improper in several directions - December 24, 1962; etc...**).

Moreover, in other books such as “*The Khrushchevists*” and “*Imperialism and the Revolution*”, Comrade Enver also reveals that he and the other Albanian Marxist-Leninists had many suspicions about the true character of the chinese “revolution” and of the chinese “socialist edification” from the first moment.

In the early and middle 70's, there were already some people which criticized socialist Albania for not being able to denounce chinese revisionism. But today we know that this criticism was in discordance with reality. By that time, Socialist Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha not only had already done their criticism of maoist revisionism, but also noted that China was paving the way in order to become a new imperialist superpower.

In those times, many of these communists feared that if Socialist Albania refused to criticize Maoist revisionism, that would cause the degeneration of the socialist character of Albania. However, this fear was totally illogical and only reveals lack of confidence in the PLA's ideological strength. In truth, there was never the risk of revisionist degeneration of socialist Albania, because Comrade Enver always maintained a correct and principled Marxist-Leninist stand and never made any concessions to Maoist revisionism, not even when Albania and China had “friendly” relations. While Comrade Enver was leading the Albanian people, socialist edification in Albania always followed a coherent Marxist-Leninist line and the PLA never let Maoist degenerative and anti-Marxist influences to penetrate the Albanian proletariat. We must remember that in the period 1974-1975, the PLA launched a ferocious battle against the party

members which were trying to sold Albania to chinese imperialism, and thanks to the party's vigilance, many pro-Maoist traitors were unmasked and received the treatment they deserved (and it's important to stress that this happened in **1974-1975**, 4 years before the official split between Beijing and Tirana, thus proving that Comrade Enver Hoxha had already predicted the inevitability of that rupture and cleaned the PLA from pro-chinese elements, thus preparing the Albanian proletariat to face the future inexorable rupture with China). Those pro-chinese traitors were united around Beqir Balluku and their objective was to subjugate Socialist Albania to the interests of the revisionist powers, including those of the chinese social-fascists:

"Chou En-lai explained to Beqir Balluku the point of view that Albania did not need heavy industry and that it could never defend itself against an external aggression (...). That's why, according to Chou En-lai, (...) Albania should make a deal with Yugoslavia and with Romania. The Bureau of the Central Committee of the PLA unanimously rejected this anti-albanian and counter-revolutionary proposal of Chou En-lai. And although he said he agreed with the Bureau's decision, Beqir Balluku later revealed to be in total accordance with the chinese proposal and he acted in secret to accomplish that hostile plan against Socialist Albania." (Letter from the Central Committee of the PLA to the Central Committee of the CPC and to the Chinese government, Tirana, 28th July of 1978, translated from French language).

To think that Socialist Albania should have broken its relations with China and should have made public its anti-Maoist criticisms earlier than 1978 reveals a very superficial analysis of the facts.

After the Liberation, Albania was almost completely destroyed. The war had imposed a very heavy burden on the country. The heroic efforts of the Albanian people to build socialism under the direction of the proletariat through the PLA led to the edification of a new Albania. This new Albania engaged in the edification of a socialist and latter communist society achieved great victories and became a symbol to all truly revolutionary militants around the world. However, this glorious path was not without obstacles. Indeed, after surpassing many difficulties caused by the country's destruction, the Albanian communists had to face Comrade Stalin's death and the ascension to power of soviet revisionism. As we know, before Khrushchevite betrayal, the Soviet Union was the main supporter of socialist Albania; it supported Albania not only on economical aspects, but also regarding political questions (for example, Comrade Stalin's defense of Albania's independence and sovereignty helped the Albanian communists to defeat Tito's imperialist ambitions and to avoid Albania's transformation into a Yugoslav colony). But after the revisionist takeover, Albania had to advance towards socialism without the Soviet help. The rupture between Albania and the Soviet Union in the period 1956-1961 had some negative effects in Albanian economy, but thanks to the emphasis that Comrade Enver Hoxha had always put on the country's internal forces and on the development of the heavy industry of

means of production, Socialist Albania was able to surpass the rupture with Moscow without grave consequences to the socialist edification. After this episode, socialist Albania decided to accept China's help bearing in mind that, despite CPC's many and profound ideological mistakes, the CPC had also defended Comrade Stalin (at least apparently...) and consequently, it could still correct its political line in accordance with Marxist-Leninist principles. During some years, the Albanian Marxist-Leninists hoped that the CPC would return to the socialist path and actively tried to call the attention of the Chinese revisionists to the profound ideological errors they were committing and to the abject anti-Marxist deviations they were making:

“Each time that our party noticed that the CPC was practicing acts and adopting attitudes which were in opposition with Marxist-Leninism and with proletarian internationalism, in opposition with the interests of socialism and the revolution, it tried to expose the CPC's errors and criticized the CPC in a comradely spirit. But the leadership of the CPC never wanted to apply Marxist-Leninist principles to the relations between parties.”
(Letter from the Central Committee of the PLA to the Central Committee of the CPC and to the Chinese government, Tirana, 28th July of 1978, translated from French language).

“On many of Mao Tse-Tung's theses, such as that about the handling of the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie as non-antagonistic contradictions, the thesis about the existence of antagonistic classes during the entire period of socialism, the thesis that «the countryside should encircle the city», which absolutizes the role of the peasantry in the revolution, etc., we had our reservations and our own Marxist-Leninist views, which, whenever we could, we expressed to the Chinese leaders.

Meanwhile, certain other political views and stands of Mao Tsetung and the Communist Party of China which were not compatible with the Marxist-Leninist views and stands of our Party, we considered as temporary tactics of a big state, dictated by specific situations. But, with the passage of time, it became ever more clear that the stands maintained by the Communist Party of China were not just tactics.

By analyzing the facts, our Party arrived at some general and specific conclusions, which made it vigilant, but it avoided polemics with the Communist Party of China and Chinese leaders, not because it was afraid to engage in polemics with them, but because the facts, which it had about the erroneous, anti-Marxist course of this party and Mao Tse-Tung himself, were incomplete, and still did not permit the drawing of a final conclusion.

On the other hand, for a time, the Communist Party of China did oppose US imperialism.

and reaction. It also took a stand against Soviet Khrushchevite revisionism, though it is now clear that its struggle against Soviet revisionism was not dictated from correct, principled Marxist-Leninist positions.” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English).

But patience has limits and since the early 70's, Comrade Enver Hoxha clearly understood that the CPC's erroneous and anti-communist line was definitive and irreversible:

«Socialist China» receives the communist comrades in the same way as Nixon, Tanaka, and the revisionists, just as it might receive Chiang Kai-shek. This means blatant treachery. (...)Therefore the Chinese cannot be in accord with the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line of our Party. They are not in agreement with the whole of our internal and external policy, either. And this they are displaying. Chou En-lai, Li Hsien-nien and Mao have cut off their contacts with us, and the contacts which they maintain are merely formal diplomatic ones.” (Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China*, Volume II, April 20, 1973, Tirana, 1979, edition in English).

Moreover, the Albanian communists noted the attempts made by the Chinese to sabotage Albania's economy and to hinder socialist edification (see: **Reflections on China Volume II: Why are the Chinese against our building the Fierza hydro-power plant?! - April 2, 1974; The Chinese are not supplying us with all the industrial projects - June 18, 1975, etc...**). It was in these circumstances that the Sino-Albanian split took place:

“The unilateral manner in which Chinese leaders broke the economical and military agreements which they had signed with Albania (...), the suspension of the most important works for our socialist economy, etc...reflect a well defined political and ideological line which is being followed by the Chinese leadership. This is a consequence of the deviation of the CPC from Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, of its collusion with American imperialism, with world capital and reaction, (...) of its willingness to turn China into a new imperialist superpower. This line of the CPC (...) always faced the opposition of the PLA (...). That's why several ideological contradictions and disagreements emerged in the relations between the CPC and the PLA, and those contradictions and disagreements became even more accentuated.(...) The PLA tried to solve these divergences through Marxist-Leninist ways, through explanations and consultations in a comradely manner, without rendering those divergences public.” (Letter from the Central Committee of the PLA to the Central Committee of the CPC and to the Chinese government, Tirana, 28th July of 1978, translated from French language).

“In these circumstances, when the CPC refused every contact, every discussion or

consultation, when it acted with arrogance and brutality (...) what should the PLA do? Should it accept the anti-Marxist line of the CPC thus negating itself? Should it renounce to the struggle against imperialism and against modern revisionism and unite with the enemies of the revolution, of socialism (...)? Should it separate from the true Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries and associate with the bourgeois opportunists? Should it cease supporting people's struggle against superpowers? **The PLA decided to remain loyal to Marxism-Leninism (...).**

It's precisely because chinese leaders could not subjugate socialist Albania that they want to (...) thwart socialist development in Albania. **But with this attitude, the chinese leadership only reveals even more its anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary face.**" (Letter from the Central Committee of the PLA to the Central Committee of the CPC and to the Chinese government, Tirana, 28th July of 1978, translated from French language).

Comrade Enver's attitude towards the CPC was a Marxist-Leninist one. As we already referred, Comrade Enver always kept in mind that the Maoist ideological line was erroneous (as we have already mentioned, Comrade Enver never tried to hide the thoughtful ideological divergences that existed between the CPC and the PLA – for example, in what concerned Mobutu's, Nixon's and Rockefeller's visits to Beijing, or in what respected to China's friendship with Franco and Pinochet, which were considered by the PLA as obvious signs of wretched capitalist degeneration), but he honestly tried to correct it, he tried to show the chinese "comrades" how to follow a genuine Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist line; however, when he understood that it would be impossible, then he fiercely and publicly denounced Maoist social-fascism:

"The analyses we conduct regarding the Chinese revisionism are generally correct, objective in the light of Marxism-Leninism. **Maoism as anti-Marxist theory is dying. It will face the same destiny as the other theories invented by world capitalism and by the decaying imperialism. (...)**

The correct Marxist-Leninist line of our party will not only today but also in the future be supported by the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists worldwide, it will be supported by the world proletariat and the peoples." (Enver Hoxha, Letter to Comrade Hysni Kapo, 30th July of 1978).

The Sino-Albanian split also represented a profound defeat to the capitalist-revisionist powers which thought that Mao Zedong would undermine the international communist movement:

"(...) when Mao Zedong thought was exerting its influence in many parties, the imperialists and social imperialists were more at ease, because they knew that this

revisionist current was doing its work of undermining the Marxist-Leninist movement. Now that this current has been exposed, the enemies are trying to sow confusion by spreading all kinds of pseudo-Marxist theories, to split and weaken the parties through factional struggle, to manipulate weak and ill-formed elements in various ways and impel them to revisionist positions. (Enver Hoxha, Report to the VIII Congress of the PLA, Tirana, 1981).

It was also in the middle 70's that the chinese revisionists presented one of their most famous ideas: the "three world theory". The main objective of this "theory" is:

"(...) to detach the peoples from the veritable struggle against American imperialism and soviet social-imperialism and to paint the reactionary leaders who serve imperialism and neocolonialism as "progressives" and "democratic". (VIIIe Congrès de l'Union des Femmes d'Albanie, Tirana, 1978, translated from French language).

The three world theory is a reactionary and anti-Marxist theory which tries to extinguish people's struggle and to obliterate Leninism. The three world theory, as its own name clearly indicates, divides the world in three parts: the first world, which is composed by the superpowers: the USA and the Soviet Union (this superpower does not exist anymore); the second world, which is composed by the capitalist countries that are not superpowers: Great Britain, France, Germany, Canada, Australia, etc...; and finally the third world, which is composed by what the bourgeois analysts call "undeveloped countries", that is, by the great majority of the African countries (Mozambique, Burundi, Kenya, Guinea, Mali, Sudan, Nigeria, etc...) by many Asiatic countries (Pakistan, Bangladesh, Thailand, etc...) and also by some countries of Central and Latin America (Paraguay, Bolivia, Uruguay, Haiti, etc...).

Accordingly with the Maoists, this third world is "the main revolutionary force of the present epoch", it is this "third world" which is "advancing the revolution". Of course, this is nothing more than a direct denial of the proletariat as the key revolutionary force. Indeed, this division of the world in three has the purpose of stopping the class struggle, of keeping the oppressed peoples in bondage.

When analyzing the "three world theory", Comrade Enver stated that:

"After the triumph of the October Revolution, Lenin and Stalin said that in our time there are two worlds: the socialist world and the capitalist world, although at that time socialism had triumphed in only one country. Lenin wrote in 1921:

« ...there are now two worlds: the old world of capitalism, that is in a state of confusion but which will never surrender voluntarily, and the rising new world, which is still very weak, but which will grow, for it is invincible».

This class criterion of the division of the world is still valid today, regardless of the fact that socialism has not triumphed in many countries and the new society has not supplanted the old bourgeois-capitalist society. Such a thing is certainly bound to happen tomorrow.” (Enver Hoxha, Imperialism and the Revolution, Tirana, 1979, edition in English).

The three world theory wants to deviate the exploited classes’ attention from the fact that there are exploited and exploiters everywhere, there are oppressors and oppressed in the “first world”, in the “second world” and, of course, also in what is called “third world”.

An authentic Marxist-Leninist should recognize that there are disagreements and contradictions between the imperialist countries and the nations which, although capitalist, do not have an imperialist character. But to be aware of the existence of these contradictions does not mean that we should have doubts about their common capitalist nature. United States and Zaire, for instance. The first country is an imperialist superpower, while the second can be included in what the maoist revisionists call “third world”. It’s crystal clear that the existence of contradictions between these two nations is inevitable, because, on one side, the United States, in accord with its predatory imperialist nature, wants to dominate countries like Zaire not only in economical matters, but also even in political matters. However, on the other side, the national bourgeoisie of Zaire is also struggling to defend its own class interests and it can happen that these interests are in opposition to those of the American imperialist plutocracy. What we must always bear in mind is that, despite some conflicts which may occur, the bourgeois character of both countries (USA and Zaire, in this case) remains unchanged and unaltered. They continue to be capitalist countries in which the ruling classes (headed by the bourgeoisie) oppress and exploit the working classes (headed by the proletariat). Therefore, it is unconceivable for a genuine Marxist-Leninist to defend that the proletariat of Zaire should “unite” with the bourgeoisie of that same country in order to supposedly “fight” against American imperialism (or any other imperialism), as the Maoists argue. That treacherous “union” would only benefit the interests of the national bourgeoisie which does not want to share the profits of the workers’ exploitation with some foreign imperialist bourgeoisie.

It was not by chance that we cited Zaire in our example. This country’s recent history is very interesting, especially if we want to observe and understand the real intentions behind the untrustworthy “third world theory” invented by the Maoists.

After achieving a formal independence from Belgian colonialism, Zaire fell under the yoke of American imperialism which murdered a bourgeois-progressive president (Lumumba) and imposed a brutal and bloodthirsty cleptocracy headed by General Mobutu which would exploit the working classes to the bone. In the beginning, Mobutu faithfully served the interests of the American imperialist bourgeoisie, but that situation would be challenged precisely when

Maoist China started to had visibility in the international scene. Mobutu was a self-proclaimed anti-communist, but that did not stop the chinese revisionists from inviting him to Beijing and from receiving him with great honors. During this visit, Mobutu met with Mao and received promises of \$100 million (!!) in technical aid. Of course, this attitude was harshly criticized by Comrade Enver Hoxha:

“Chou's statement at the banquet with Mobutu is flagrantly anti-Marxist. He included China in the «third world». This means to deny socialism, to conceal the true individuality of China and the character of its socio-economic order from the eyes of the world. This is an opportunist, anti-Marxist view. (...) **General Mobutu and his clique are reactionaries, the murderers of Lumumba and other progressive individuals in their country. China receives the representative of this anti-democratic African clique with great honours (...).**” (Enver Hoxha, Reflections on China, Volume II, January 15, 1973, Tirana, 1979, edition in English).

The truth is that Mobutu's visit to China was not an incoherence in the maoist foreign policy. On the contrary, to receive reactionary leaders was something usual for the chinese revisionists (apart from Mobutu, they received Nixon (!!!), Ferdinand Marcos (!!!), Rockefeller (!!!!!), among many others...). And we must underline that the receptions made to those leaders were everything but discreet. Those leaders were received by the highest ranks of the CPC, including by Chou En Lai and by Mao Zedong himself. They were accompanied by sumptuous banquets and luxury parties, all this at the expense of the chinese working classes. But we should not be surprised. After all, they were just anti-communist leaders which were being splendidly received in an anti-communist country, as was the case of Maoist China.

But let's return to Zaire's example. After his visits to China, Mobutu started to oppose American Imperialism and to primarily defend the interests of the national bourgeoisie of Zaire (which was the main component of his own governing clique). This situation intensified even more in the middle 70's, when Mobutu openly criticized USA. It is curious to note that, after his first visit to China, Mobutu adopted the title “the Helmsman”, which was used by Mao.

In the meantime, the chinese social-imperialists were using their friendship with Mobutu in order to penetrate in Africa and to undermine Soviet positions in that continent. But the most important aspect we must retain from the Zaire example is how the chinese revisionists tried to seduce the reactionary leaders of the “third world” with the purpose of attracting them to the chinese sphere of influence and to cover them with “anti-imperialist” disguises in order to deceive the peoples of those “third world” countries and to keep them in a state of slavery through the perpetuation of the capitalist system and of the reactionary cliques which were ruling those countries. We can never forget that if exploitation is not eliminated within a certain

country, then that country will sooner or latter start to have commercial relations with more powerful capitalist countries, and, with time, these commercial relations will change their nature and will be transformed into relations of economical subjugation towards those other capitalist countries. This was predicted by Karl Marx, who explained that this phenomenon will inevitably happen because of the contradictions between production and consume within the internal market, and also because of the different productive degrees inside social work. This means that the more powerful capitalist countries, which are able to take profits of the selling of great quantities of merchandises which were produced at a very low cost, will inexorably dominate the weaker capitalist countries as long as capitalist exploitation continues to exist. Consequently, all the theories of “non-alignment”, of “fair trade”, are nothing but a big fraud fabricated by the revisionists to hinder the world socialist revolution.

Even today, the Maoists are still using this “theory” and continue to claim that only the countries which are included in what they understand by “third world” are truly progressive. With this, they openly deny the revolutionary character of the proletariat and of the oppressed classes in the countries of the “second” and of the “first world”. With this, they openly assume that they are against the world proletarian revolution and in favor of pro-fascist “class cooperation”. With this, they clearly show the anti-Marxist and pro-capitalist character of their depraved ideology.

Indeed, we observe that in the countries of the “third world” it is frequent that worker’s exploitation is exercised in a very high degree, because great part of these countries are ruled by reactionary and pro-imperialist cliques which do their utmost to serve their foreign bosses while brutally repressing their respective peoples’ aspirations for freedom and socialism. What the Maoists mean with this fake “three world theory” is that a bunch of countries which are mainly governed by backward forces and which are closely linked with imperialist interests can be considered as “the main motive force of the revolution”:

“How is it possible in the present epoch of social development, which has at its hub the most revolutionary class, the proletariat, to call a grouping of states, the overwhelming bulk of which are ruled by the bourgeoisie and the feudal lords, indeed, even open reactionaries and fascists, the motive force? This is a gross distortion of Marx's theory.” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English).

As we said above, the Maoists deny that there is class struggle in every “world” invented by them. And they do this because they are anti-Marxist, and therefore they are not able to understand that the proletariat is invariably the main motive force of the revolution, whether in the “first”, “second” or in the “third world”. They try to paint the countries of the “three world” as

“progressive” and “revolutionary” in order to thwart peoples’ struggle against their internal and external oppressors. In fact, if we follow the three world theory, we will easily reach the conclusion that this theory leads us towards the more abject cooperation and conciliation with the more reactionary branches of the bourgeoisie. Through this three world theory, the Maoists try to justify the peaceful coexistence between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, because they defend that from the moment a certain state is included in the so-called “third world”, that state is automatically qualified as “revolutionary” and “anti-imperialist” and therefore, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie of that state should allegedly unite with the objective of struggling against imperialism. So, what the Maoists propagate is that the union between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat within a determined “three world country” is something “progressive” because it will supposedly contribute to the defeat of the superpowers. It’s hard to imagine a more counter-revolutionary and pro-capitalist theory than this one. In truth, the Maoists are condemning the revolutionary actions that the proletariat must undertake against its internal and external oppressors because, in the Maoists’ view, that would undermine the “necessary” union between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat:

“The theory of «three worlds» advocates social peace, class conciliation, and tries to create alliances between implacable enemies, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the oppressed and the oppressors, the peoples and imperialism.

It is an attempt to prolong the life of the old world, the capitalist world, to keep it on its feet precisely by seeking to extinguish the class struggle. But the class struggle, the struggle of the proletariat and its allies to take power and the struggle of the bourgeoisie to maintain its power can never be extinguished. (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English).

Indeed, this three world theory fabricated by the chinese revisionists headed by Mao is very curious because the idea of the “union” and the “cooperation” between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the countries of the “third world” looks like a copy of Mao’s theory of New Democracy. In truth, the “three world theory” is an attempt made by the Chinese revisionists in order to impose their own anti-Marxist and bourgeois line to other countries. Throughout this article, we underlined that the Chinese 1949 “revolution” was nothing more than a bourgeois anti-imperialist revolution and that Maoism was nothing more than the ideology of the chinese national bourgeoisie which strove to reach economical and political power in order to pave the way for China’s ascension as a new superpower. We also noted that one of the main instruments used by Mao in order to mislead the Chinese proletariat over the true nature of the Chinese “revolution” was precisely his theory of a “joint dictatorship” of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, of a “share of power” between these two opposite classes with irreconcilable interests. Now, when analyzing the “three world theory”, we conclude that the Chinese

revisionists were trying to spread those reactionary ideas with the purpose of hindering the class struggle and of taking the world proletariat away from the idea of the proletarian revolution. They are still trying to deceive the oppressed classes by encouraging them to reconcile with the bourgeoisie, and we had already seen what happens when the bourgeoisie pretends to “share the power” with the proletariat. In these situations, this false “share of power” will never last (not even in appearance) because from the moment that the bourgeoisie is not expropriated and destroyed by the proletariat, then it will always conquer and dominate the economical and political power; that is, it will always establish a bourgeois dictatorship. Therefore, to say that in the “third world countries” the proletariat and the bourgeoisie should “unite” with anti-imperialist purposes is to completely erase the class character of the social and economical relations that exist in these nations. The truth is that the main objective of the “third world theory” is to facilitate China’s ascension as a new imperialist superpower, by pretending to “lead” the “third world countries”.

This paragraph written by Comrade Enver correctly exposes China’s pro-imperialist intentions disguised under the cloak of the “three world theory”:

“The theory of «three worlds» is against the proletarian revolution, and replaces it with the bourgeois-democratic revolution. This anti-Marxist theory eliminates the decisive leading role of the proletariat in the revolution, lumps all the forces together under one umbrella or in one bag, calling them the «third world» and giving them that role and those attributes which these forces do not possess, and with this «world» denies the socialist world.

This means that China denies that it is a socialist country, calls itself an «undeveloped country» and not a socialist country. According to this theory, to be an undeveloped country means to be a socialist country. This theory is simply anti-Marxist and reactionary, it means to consider all the undeveloped countries with bourgeois capitalist systems as socialist countries.

Why is China doing this? It seems to me that it is doing this not only to defend an incorrect ideological thesis, but in order to realize its secret objective — to lead all those states of Asia, Africa or Latin America, which it includes in this «world», to become their leadership by presenting itself as their main defender.

But in fact China is not defending anything, because it does not give any sort of aid, even economic aid, to these states which are bourgeois-capitalist states; the majority of them are linked with the United States of America and the capital of other imperialists, or with the Soviet Union.” (Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China*, Volume II, March 22, 1977, Tirana, 1979, edition in English).

This “theory of the three worlds” emerged in a trouble context regarding China’s internal situation. In the spring of 1976, Mao was dying. Due to his serious disease, the country was now ruled by what would be later called “the gang of the four”. This “gang”, which was formed by Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunquiao, Jao Wenjuan and Jiang Qing (Mao’s wife), was the representative of Mao’s “orthodox” and pro-nationalist line, and was struggling against the “reformist” section led by Deng Xiaoping.

This group of the four succeeded in expelling Deng from the leadership of the Central Committee of the CPC, but the fights between the group’s militias and the pro-Deng factions almost led to a civil war. With Mao’s death in September of 1976, the “gang of four” lost its main supporters and was obliterated by Deng’s pragmatic faction. After the arrest of the “gang”, Deng Xiaoping reconquered his former party positions and conducted China towards an openly pro-capitalist and imperialist road.

Nowadays, the majority of the Maoists which still insist in painting themselves as “pure communists” argue that the “gang of the four” was a kind of guardian of Mao’s “genuine communist line”, and that the “gang” was expelled by the “pro-capitalist forces” inside the CPC which would “betray” the socialist edification in China. Of course, this kind of argumentation is nothing but a masquerade. In fact, the “gang of four” was so revisionist and pro-capitalist as Deng’s faction:

“The "Gang of Four" was a group of megalomaniac, ambitious, intrigant babblers without any principles, just like the other fractions of the bourgeoisie which were swimming in the swamp. (...)

*The bourgeois world called the "Gang of Four" radical. If you wish, you can also add the term "socialist" and call them "radical socialist". **But those four were neither radical nor socialist.**” (Enver Hoxha, Letter to Comrade Hysni Kapo, 30th July of 1978).*

Both factions wanted to rule China and to totally dominate the CPC’s apparatus. Both sections were representing a determined branch of the Chinese bourgeoisie. However, the “gang of four” was defeated and Deng’s faction triumphed. Why? In truth, the answer to that question can be found in the interests of the chinese monopolist bourgeoisie which was dominating China since the late 60’s. As we have already referred, the economical objectives of the chinese national bourgeoisie after the 1949 “revolution” can be divided in two main stages: the first one, which lasted until the Cultural Revolution, was characterized by the efforts of the national bourgeoisie to create and strengthen China’s internal market in order to consolidate its economical and political positions; while the second, which begun after the Cultural Revolution and was fortified in the middle 70’s, was characterized by the definitive victory of the chinese

national bourgeoisie over the petty-bourgeois and peasant elements which still believed in the "joint dictatorship of all revolutionary classes" proposed by Mao. With this victory, the chinese national bourgeoisie turned into a veritable monopolist bourgeoisie and started to enter into competition with foreign imperialisms. In order to achieve success in becoming a new imperialist power, the chinese monopolist bourgeoisie needed to increase exportations and also to incentive foreign investments in China. And this is the main reason why the "gang of four" was defeated. It was defeated because it did not serve the interests of the monopolist bourgeoisie anymore (what distinguishes Deng's supporters from Mao's supporters was that the firsts relied on the international market in order to turn China into a superpower, while the seconds relied on the internal market). The "potentialities" of the Mao Zedong though which were utilized by the chinese bourgeoisie to deceive the chinese proletariat were no more needed because the chinese monopolist bourgeoisie had now total control over the chinese state and it had no more necessity to mislead the working classes through fake slogans covered by "Marxist-Leninist" phraseology. Therefore, the "gang of four" was eliminated and Mao's epoch was gone forever.

However, we must not forget that it was Mao's anti-Marxist ideology which permitted the development and economic consolidation of the chinese national bourgeoisie and its later transformation into a monopolist bourgeoisie. Thus, the Mao Zedong though was an objective and direct cause of the emergence of Chinese social-imperialism; in the same way that the emergence of the Chinese social-imperialism was an objective and direct consequence of the Mao Zedong Thought. One thing is intrinsically linked with the other and both are inseparable. This point must be crystal clear:

"The Communist Party of China and especially Mao Zedong, who was an idealist dreamer and utopian without general education (apart from the one about ancient China), followed the development of human history as xenophobic dilettantes. Their ideological, political and organisational principles, especially since the foundation of the Communist Party, are demonstratively pragmatical and solely focused on China's interests with the obvious aim of transforming "eternal" China into a superpower which controls the world, dictates the law, imposes its own culture and its own will upon others." (Enver Hoxha, Letter to Comrade Hysni Kapo, 30th July of 1978).

The anti-Marxist conceptions of Mao continued to thwart the world proletarian revolution and to perpetuate the capitalist system. As we had already referred, the ascension to power of Deng Xiaoping and the definitive inclusion of China inside the orbit of world capitalism were accompanied by imperialist expansion which included the imposition of pro-chinese reactionary cliques in a number of countries. One of the most flagrant and impressive examples of the immense damages caused by Mao's reactionary ideas and by chinese social-imperialism was

that of Cambodia under Pol Pot.

We choose to develop the Cambodia example not only because it represents one of the most brutal attempts made by the chinese revisionists to create a sphere of influence of their own, but also because the “Pol Pot question” is one of the most important arguments used by the world bourgeoisie to discredit communist ideology.

The Pol Pot regime was a direct product of the Maoist pro-capitalist revisionism and of the social-imperialist interests it fostered.

After the American defeat, Vietnam started to be governed by a revisionist clique which served soviet interests. It was already in this epoch that the Cambodian nationalist-bourgeois “resistance” against the pro-American regime of Lon Lol was intensifying and Pol Pot and his “Red” Khmers were part of that “resistance”. Seeing all this, the Maoist imperialists, which were very irritated about Soviet influence in Southeast Asia, supported Pol Pot’s struggle for power with the purpose of transforming Cambodia into a Chinese satellite which would counter-balance Vietnam’s pro-Sovietism.

Pol Pot, whose real name was Saloth Sar, was born in a bourgeois family. Thanks to his family’s wealth, he was able to study in France, where he supposedly took contact with communist ideology. This is nothing astonishing, since the great majority of the sons of the native bourgeoisies which studied in colonialist metropolis during the second half of the XXth Century took contact with communist ideology at a determined moment. Therefore, just because the young Pol Pot read some communist books does not mean that, because of that, he had become a communist. Indeed, there are many bourgeois which know a lot about communist ideology, which even read the works of the Classics. But does that mean that they ceased to be bourgeois and can be considered genuine communists? Of course not. They are not communists because they don’t accept Marxism-Leninism, because they are unable to understand the grandiosity of that ideology. Even if they pretend to be communists, their true bourgeois nature will always appear in the way they distort and corrupt Marxism-Leninism. This was what happened with Pol Pot. In reality, in Pol Pot’s case, we cannot merely say that he was not a communist. In fact, we must affirm without fear that Pol Pot was a veritable anti-communist, because more than a simple rejection of Marxism-Leninism, he would launch a brutal war in order to avoid the Cambodian people from taking the socialist revolutionary path. The best proof of Pol Pot’s reactionary character was his embracement of Maoism. In fact, what most attracted Pol Pot towards Maoism was precisely Mao’s negation of the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution and its replacement by the peasantry. One of the main thesis which would be used by Pol Pot to justify the reign of terror that the “Red” Khmers imposed on the Cambodian people was precisely the famous Maoist conception about “the encirclement of the

city by the countryside”.

In his works against Maoism, Comrade Enver Hoxha openly exposed the anti-Marxist character of this idea:

“In his writings, Mao has expressed and continues to express that «the peasantry is the most revolutionary force on which the revolution must be based».

Another expression of this anti-Marxist line of Mao's is the concept that «the countryside must encircle the city». This means that the poor peasantry must lead the revolution, that «the proletariat of the city has lost its revolutionary spirit, has become conservative and has adapted itself to capitalist oppression and exploitation».

Of course, this theory is anti-Marxist and cannot lead to revolution, cannot establish and give the role that belongs to it to the dictatorship of the proletariat, or to its leadership — the Marxist-Leninist proletarian party. Anything can be covered up with words and propaganda, but not the essence of the question, and consequently, if not today, tomorrow, the time will come when the roof and the walls will fall in, because, without the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist communist party and without resolutely implementing the immortal theses of the Marxist-Leninist theory in the correct way, socialism cannot be built.” (Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China, Volume II, January 1, 1976, Tirana, 1979, edition in English*).

Mao's anti-Marxist thesis about the “encirclement of the city by the countryside” means that, accordingly with Mao, it is the peasantry which should lead the revolution, it is the peasantry which should be the main revolutionary force. Nonetheless, Pol Pot understood this idea in a totally literal manner. He interpreted this “encirclement” as a de facto encirclement, and as if the countryside should not only encircle the city, but also destroy the city and everything related with urban culture. This constitutes the main aspect of Pol Pot's “ideology”.

Maoism deformed Marxism-Leninism by adapting it to bourgeois anti-colonialist nationalism, while Pol Pot deformed Maoism by adapting it to his individualist greed for absolute power over an entire people. Pol Pot's ideology can be considered an extremist form of revisionism.

But let's return to historical events. In 1975, after overthrowing Lon Nol pro-western despotic government, Pol Pot reached power and became an instrument of Chinese social-imperialism.

Pol Pot occupied power from 1975 to 1979, and during those 4 years he took Cambodian people back to the stone age. Cambodia never had heavy industry and was very far from

having an independent economy. After all, we must not forget that after being subjected to French imperialism, Cambodia was governed by pro-American puppets which sold the country to foreign capital. However, during Pol Pot's rule, the few industries that existed in Cambodia were reduced to nothing. And it was not only the industries. The Cambodian proletariat also almost disappeared under Pol Pot. These effects were due to the policy followed by the "Red" Khmers which consisted in forcibly dislocating the urban people to the countryside with the alleged purpose of "making them learn from the peasants, which are the only revolutionary force". Therefore, all that was linked with the urban proletariat (factories, schools, roads, electricity systems, etc...) was simply smashed. During Pol Pot's rule, the Cambodian cities were deserts where nobody lived.

It is interesting to note that, as every genuine Marxist-Leninist knows, it is the existence of the urban proletariat and the development of the heavy industry that permits that even a backward country can edificate socialism in a correct and independent manner. The examples of Soviet Union of Comrades Lenin and Stalin and of Socialist Albania of Comrade Enver Hoxha are living proofs of the scientific character of this theory. In both countries, after the socialist revolution, the urban proletariat increased exponentially and the main economic efforts were directed towards heavy industry; and this because, without wanting to diminish the great importance that socialist agriculture and the peasantry had in Socialist Albania and in Soviet Union, the truth is that the socialist edification is unconceivable without a strong and well organized urban proletariat in order to lead the revolution, and without a firm and diversified industry of means of production in order to assure the material base of the proletarian dictatorship and to grant its independence from world capitalism. But we observe that the strategy followed by Pol Pot was in total and irreconcilable opposition with that defended and applied by the Classics of Marxism-Leninism. The actions of the Pol Pot clique turned socialist edification in Cambodia completely impossible and, by leaving the country in ruins, Pol Pot gave a precious help to world capitalism which wanted to steal and to exploit the Cambodian people (a totally desolated and miserable country whose people is dying of hunger and malaria is a much easier prey to the capitalist multinationals looking for huge profits).

The terrorist actions which the "Red" Khmers perpetrated against the Cambodian people were also incompatible with the essence of the communist ideology. In Pol Pot's Cambodia, the workers and even the peasants (the two main productive forces which should construct socialism) lived in total terror. They did not think about how to build a classless and stateless society based on the teachings of the Classics of Marxism-Leninism. Instead of that, they spent their time thinking if they would live to see another day or not (even the anti-religious struggle of the "Red" Khmers was conducted in a wrong and counter-revolutionary manner, because it was launched rightly after Pol Pot reached power, at a time when Cambodian people was still not

ready to embrace atheism, and thus instead of removing religion in an efficient manner, the Pol Pot regime strengthened religious feelings because Cambodian people saw religion as a factor of unity against the rulers which were repressing them in such a harsh way. The anti-religious struggle which Mao launched in China was also inconsistent and ineffective, although that was due to reasons linked with the incoherence of that struggle, because on one side Mao affirmed he wanted to combat Buddhism, but on the other side, his own ideology was strongly influenced by that religion. The wrong anti-religious strategies followed by Mao in China and by Pol Pot in Cambodia are an antithesis of the revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist struggle against religion as it was conducted in Soviet Union of Comrades Lenin and Stalin and in Socialist Albania of Comrade Enver Hoxha).

In such conditions, it is impossible to speak about dictatorship of the proletariat. Under a genuine proletarian dictatorship, the workers and the peasants must enjoy the greatest liberty, they should be free to expand and develop their Marxist-Leninist ideology in order to achieve socialist and later communist society. This happened in Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin and in Socialist Albania of Comrade Enver. These two states were by far the most democratic that ever existed, rightly because they were authentic proletarian dictatorships.

And as if that was not enough, the Pol Pot regime even provided the world reaction with another “anti-communist weapon”. If we observe the disgusting books about the so-called “communist crimes” which are largely published in the repugnant bourgeois media, we will conclude that nearly all of them refer to “the Cambodian genocide”, to the “Cambodian killing fields” or to the “the mass killings perpetrated by the communists in Cambodia”, etc...Those false qualifications of the Cambodian genocide which try to paint it as a “communist atrocity” are nothing more than evidence of how desperate the international reaction is in trying to justify the tyrannical imperialist-capitalist system which oppresses humanity today more than ever. Of course, this is not to deny that mass killings happened in Cambodia under Pol Pot. Undoubtedly, there were horrible killings. But, contrary to the desires of the bourgeois ideologues, it was not a “communist crime”, even because the so-called “communist crimes” never existed, they are nothing more than a fabrication by the bourgeoisie. Communism is the highest of all ideals, it is the most noble of all ideologies, and the bourgeois concept of “crime” is totally incompatible not only with communist ideology in itself, but also with the process of edification of a socialist and communist society. In socialist edification, the proletariat and its revolutionary party commit no crimes, but only acts of justice against the awful oppressors.

On the contrary, the course and the outcome of the Pol Pot regime clearly indicate that the killings which occurred in Cambodian were actions of an anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary nature, because they precluded the Cambodian people from establishing the proletarian dictatorship and from edifying socialism. The fact that Pol Pot qualified himself as

the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Cambodia does not change anything:

“History does not know any case of a country which has engaged or has achieved socialism under the direction of a non-Marxist-Leninist party or political organization. (...) It is true that nowadays there are a lot of people who talk about socialism, there are also a lot of parties which are pretending to be authentic socialist parties and which are pretending to lead the struggle for socialism. **However, we can never judge things simply according with the words and the names that those people and those parties attribute to themselves. On the contrary, it is necessary to judge their actions, their concrete attitudes and the policies followed by them, all this with the objective of observing to whom are those people and parties serving and who profits from their views and actions.**” (PLA, A propos des thèses concernant le Xe Congrès du Parti communiste Italien, article published in the newspaper Zëri I Popullit, on 17-18 November of 1962, in *Les idées du marxisme-léninisme triompheront du révisionnisme*, Tirana, 1964, translated from french language).

Concluding, the regime imposed in Cambodia by Pol Pot can be qualified as a reactionary anti-communist bloodthirsty dictatorship whose objective was to paralyze the socialist revolutionary aspirations of the oppressed Cambodian people in order to facilitate Cambodia’s exploitation by foreign imperialisms, especially by Chinese social-imperialism.

Comrade Enver Hoxha and the PLA severely criticized the Pol Pot regime and understood that it was a result of chinese social-imperialism and of Maoist anti-Marxist ideological deviationism:

“In regard to Cambodia, our Party and state have condemned the bloodthirsty activities of the Pol Pot clique, a tool of the Chinese social-imperialists. We hope that the Cambodian people will surmount the difficulties they are encountering as soon as possible and decide their own fate and future in complete freedom without any «guardian».” (Enver Hoxha, Report to the VIII Congress of the PLA, Tirana, 1981).

In 1979, Vietnam invaded Cambodia and Pol Pot was finally overthrew, in what represented a dispute between two exploitative and anti-Marxist cliques which symbolized pro-Soviet revisionism (Vietnam’s ruling clique) and pro-Chinese revisionism (Pol Pot’s ruling clique). It’s important to note that, throughout his rule, Pol Pot was also supported by American Imperialism, which provided his “government” with diplomatic recognition (even after knowing about the atrocities committed by it). The Americans also supported the “Red” Khmers in their disputes against pro-Soviet Vietnam. If Pol Pot was a true communist, would the Americans give him this kind of help? Obviously not. They supported Pol Pot because his ideology entirely

coincided with their own.

After analyzing some of the effects of Maoist social-imperialism, we will now turn to another happening which occurred in Deng Xiaoping's China, and which still attracts a lot of attention all over the world: the Tiananmen events of 1989.

In the beginning of this article, we observed how the former chinese bourgeoisie linked with foreign imperialism suffered a tremendous defeated with the 1949 revolution, which promoted the interests of the chinese national bourgeoisie. Nonetheless, that former bourgeoisie of the compradore type never stopped trying to reconquer its lost power, and the last attempt made by that class to achieve that purpose was precisely the Tiananmen "pro-democracy movement", as it was called by the western media. This "movement" was led by the surviving elements of the chinese bourgeoisie of the compradore type linked with the Kuomintang and was promoted by the western powers which were afraid of the competition that an imperialist China would represent to them. Fang Lizhi, the main "leader" of the "movement", even made a tournée in nearly all western capitals in order to win the support of the western leaders towards the "pro-democratic" movement which was about to be launched. Of course, this ridiculous "pro-democracy" movement represented nothing more than the interests of China's imperialist rivals who wanted to freely exploit and penetrate into China's markets with the purpose of transforming the country into the semi-colonial state it was before 1949. Of course, the chinese monopolist bourgeoisie was not stupid and knew very well that from the moment it let the other imperialisms penetrate China, those foreign imperialisms would try to overthrow its power with the purpose of transforming China into a semi-colonial country again. In order to avoid that, the chinese monopolist bourgeoisie fabricated a scheme which would permit to utilize foreign investments without submitting to the western imperialisms. That scheme consisted in letting foreign capitals and investments penetrate China, but only in certain industrial branches, especially in light industry. And this because while the chinese monopolist bourgeoisie has imperialist ambitions and wants to turn China into the new superpower, it also has a clear notion that it is fundamental not to permit the investments of foreign imperialisms in strategic economic branches (heavy industry), because otherwise the anti-chinese capitalist rivals would undermine China's imperialist ascension. Therefore, under the guise of criticizing "socialism" and of demanding "free market reforms", the Tiananmen "movement" was in fact criticizing the domination of the chinese economical and political apparatus by the monopolist bourgeoisie, and at the same time it was struggling in favor of a totally submissive pro-western regime which would get the former chinese bourgeoisie compradore back in power to serve the interests of the foreign imperialists. Those "students" which were "demonstrating" in Tiananmen had absolutely nothing to do with democracy, they were only the instruments used by China's imperialist rivals with the objective of urging the chinese monopolist bourgeoisie to remove the

obstacles which it put to foreign imperialists' penetration in the most important branches of the state monopolist industry.

China's imperialist rivals suffered a great defeat when the Tiananmen "movement" was obliterated by the security forces at the service of the monopolist bourgeoisie. In face of this, the western powers hypocritically started to scream about the "lack of human rights in China", or about the "lack of democracy in China", but there was nothing that they could do. The crushed Tiananmen "movement" was their last chance to reverse China's ascension as a new superpower.

Today's China is an entirely capitalist and imperialist country with huge class inequalities and in which the workers are savagely exploited in favor of the multinational's superprofits. The political and economic tyranny that the chinese monopolist bourgeoisie exercises over the chinese exploited classes is so intense that we can qualify today's China as a veritable fascist dictatorship. This is nothing surprising. Long time ago, comrade Enver Hoxha had already predicted this course:

"The black reaction of Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping, which seized power, will lead a power struggle in order to build a fascist dictatorship. There will be a fight about world hegemony. The strategy they pursue is only logical. The alliances with American imperialism and the world reaction are logical and normal. Just as normal are the antagonisms and the outbreak of the predatory wars which will result from this fellowship of bandits. (...)

The currently ruling crew in China and the others who will definitely follow as result of the internal fraction fights for power will use Maoism, using it as an anti-historical corpse in order to ruthlessly, shamelessly build a powerful imperialist Chinese state, in unity and in divergence with the other imperialists and through the oppression of peoples who long fought for liberation, independence and socialism and who will fight for it.

The fascist-revisionist Chinese cliques will stop at nothing to antagonise the Chinese people through propaganda and other means and to deceive the world public." (Enver Hoxha, Letter to Comrade Hysni Kapo, 30th July of 1978).

Of course, the chinese social-fascists try to deny this and even qualify their ferocious economic politics of ultra-liberalism as a "socialist market economy". In 1992, it was clarified at the 14th CPC National Congress that the goal of the reforms of China's economic system was to establish a "socialist market economy". In 1993, the China's constitution was modified and it was explicitly stipulated that China adopts a "socialist market economy". The expression "socialist market economy" is not an invention of the chinese revisionists. In fact, this

expression has been used by revisionists and anti-Marxists of all types and represents the total abandonment of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist ideology and its replacement by bourgeois and capitalist Keynesianist or even neoliberal ideology.

Another major aspect of chinese revisionism is its tolerance regarding religion. In his book *Reflections on China*, Comrade Enver Hoxha already noticed the opportunistic stand taken by the CPC towards religion:

"The Chinese propaganda openly implies that religion is not combated in China and that is why it speaks about religious celebrations, about Easter, Bairam, about masses and prayers in the churches and mosques in Peking." (Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China*, Volume II, January 18, 1973, Tirana, 1979, edition in English).

"The Chinese will cause ideological confusion not only because they are impelled by the desire to unmask Soviet revisionism, but also because of the whole psychology and the Confucian Asiatic mentality of China and Asiatic idealist philosophy in general. When we speak about philosophy, we cannot exclude the influence of religion on it, the influence of Buddhism, Brahmanism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism, these latter to the degree that they make themselves felt on the Asiatic continent and the Chinese subcontinent." (Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China*, Volume II, October 14, 1977, Tirana, 1979, edition in English).

And nowadays, when searching on the official site of the CPC, we find an article with this astonishing title: "China Highlights Role of Buddhism in Promoting Social Harmony." (?!!!!) In this article from 2008, it is gladly affirmed that China is home to "100 million Buddhism adherents, as well as some 200,000 monks and nuns in 130,000 monasteries and convents." Furthermore, it is said that:

"(...) the doctrines of Buddhism are officially recognized by the atheist government as a conducive vehicle to help with the creation of a harmonious society."

According to Ye Xiaowen, director of China's State Administration for Religious Affairs, whose words are quoted in this article:

"This policy coincides with the Communist Party of China's ambitious campaign to "build a harmonious society" initiated by President Hu Jintao in 2005, when he urged state and Party leaders to prioritize social harmony on their agenda. Wealth disparity and materialism have not just created strains and tensions in modern China, but an ideological vacuum. Many feel lost, spiritually and morally. Buddhist clergies believe Buddhism offers peace of mind to fill the vacuum."

Can anybody imagine a more reactionary and anti-communist attitude than that of a party which calls itself “communist”, but which not only tolerates religion but also propagates it with the purpose of accomplishing “social harmony” and “peace of mind”? Throughout history, religion has always been an instrument used by the dominant classes to keep the oppressed workers in bondage, thus facilitating their exploitation by the elites. Under socialism, all religions, without exception, must be harshly fought and replaced by an atheist and materialist scientific culture. As it was already referred in this article, Soviet Union of Comrades Lenin and Stalin and Socialist Albania of Comrade Enver Hoxha are the best examples about how to correctly struggle against religion and all kinds of superstitions and obscurantism.

On the contrary, the chinese social-fascists which are ruling China clearly see Buddhist religion as a valuable instrument to neutralize the revolutionary aspirations of the chinese oppressed masses and to alienate those masses from the daily sufferings that are imposed on them by the ultra-capitalist and social-imperialist system which is governing China.

Throughout their political course, the Chinese social-fascists completely obliterated the fundamental class question. They affirm that China is a socialist country because “the means of production are nationalized and the economy is still controlled by the state”. This affirmation is false because the fact that there is economical planning does not change anything; everything depends of what class is effectively in power. In capitalism, the bourgeoisie dominates economical and political power and through that, it tries to dominate every sphere of the worker’s life. This state of things can only be changed through a socialist revolution which establishes the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, while bourgeoisie is in power, it does not matter if that bourgeoisie adopts a more planned or a more “free” version of the capitalist economical system. And this because, while the proletariat does not achieve power through violent revolutionary means, the economical system will always have a capitalist nature, even because the option made by a determined bourgeoisie between a capitalist system with more “planned” characteristics and a capitalist system with “free market” characteristics is intimately linked with the circumstantial interests of that bourgeois class. There are historical occasions in which it is more beneficial to the bourgeoisie to practice a capitalist “planned” economy, and there are others in which is more beneficial to that same bourgeoisie to practice a capitalist “free market” economy. One of the best examples of this is precisely the tactic followed by the chinese national bourgeoisie. During the first phase of it development, the chinese national bourgeoisie chose to practice a capitalist economy with “planned” features (this phase corresponded to Mao’s rule and its “planned” characteristics mislead many people around the world about the true capitalist character of this economical system) , while in the later phases of its development, it chose to practice a capitalist economy with “free market” features (these phases correspond to Deng’s and his successors governments and lasts until the present

moment).

Deng Xiaoping once said that:

"(...) Practice of a market economy is not equivalent to capitalism because there are also markets under socialism."

This statement clearly shows the revisionist character of its author. It is true that in the first phases of socialist edification, it can happen that some minor markets still persist. But that should not be something definitive. On the contrary, the markets which continue to exist after the proletarian revolution will disappear gradually but firmly with the development of the edification of socialist and communist society. And even in the first stages of socialism the minor markets should never be allowed to constitute a form of exploitation and of bourgeois-capitalist restoration; they should be subjected to total control by the proletarian state which must always keep in mind that the final objective is the elimination of those minor markets. In the late 40's and early 50's, Comrade Enver noted that Albania was the country in which the proletarian nationalizations were accomplished more quickly and in which the internal free market was more reduced. Comrade Enver Hoxha frequently remarked that one of the causes of the success of socialist implementation in Albania was the fact that in that country the internal markets were reduced to a minimum and the PLA was struggling for their total eradication simultaneously with the deepening of socialist edification. But in Maoist and revisionist China, the opposite happened. The CPC never wanted to eliminate markets. On the contrary, it strengthened internal markets in order to allow the national bourgeoisie to exploit the Chinese proletariat and to consolidate its class power.

This is also closely related with what the Chinese revisionists call "socialism with chinese characteristics". As every revisionist current, Maoist revisionism also propagates its own "chinese socialism", alongside with the Titoites' "Yugoslav Socialism", with Thorez social-chauvinist "French road to socialism", and with many others. Of course, there can be certain national particularities which will dictate some specificities of socialist construction. However, Comrade Stalin and Comrade Enver Hoxha always underlined that those specificities are always limited to minor and secondary aspects of the socialist edification and can never be extended to its essential characteristics, because socialist and communist edification must follow a certain and invariable line in accordance with the teachings of the Classics, regardless of the place in which socialism is being built.

Nowadays, the bourgeois-reactionary parties which call themselves "Marxist-Leninist-Maoist" are continuing the anti-Marxist and pro-capitalist mission started by Mao. Their final aim is to definitively thwart world socialist revolution, consequently perpetuating imperialism and

capitalism. They defend Maoist bourgeois ideology and even dare to affirm that Mao is the “fifth Classic of Marxism-Leninism”, alongside Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. However, it is remarkable that, on one side, they consider Stalin as one of the Classics, but on the other side, they say that their ideology is “Marxism-Leninism-Maoism”, thus totally obliterating any mention to Stalin or to Stalinism. This apparent contradiction is not surprising. In 1960, Mao used Stalin’s name and legacy trying to become the leader of the world communist movement with the objective of assuring China’s imperialist dominance over the oppressed peoples. Mao hid his anti-communist ideology and views under the mask of the “defense of Stalin”. Just like Mao did in the 60’s, today’s Maoists also utilize Stalin’s glorious name in order to mislead the world proletarians and to convince them to follow an ideology which represents the interests of the bourgeois and capitalist classes. One of the main instruments used by the Maoists to achieve this is precisely the Marxist phraseology and the “revolutionary” appearance which characterizes Mao Zedong Thought. Therefore, we can affirm that the tricks and the deceptions which had been used by Mao and his revisionists successors with the purpose of protecting bourgeois class interests and of transforming China into an imperialist superpower are still widely used by Maoist “groups” and “parties”.

There are two main currents within world maoist movement. The first is the one which is assumedly revisionist and social-fascist and which considers today’s China as a socialist country. This current has a tendency to disappear and it’s becoming more and more discredited because only openly reactionaries can affirm that today’s social-Darwinist China is a socialist (?!!!) country. This current “proves” the alleged “socialist” character of China by saying that only a socialist country could experiment such a meteoric economic development and expansion as China is doing. Of course, this absurd affirmation simply doesn’t hold water. There are many historical examples of capitalist countries which also experienced tremendous economical growth and that certainly didn’t made those countries turn socialist. The case of the United States between 1850 and 1928 is a vivid example. During that historical period, the United States knew an incredible and almost uninterrupted economical growth. Therefore, according to those Maoists, we can conclude that between 1850 and 1928 the United States of America were edificating socialism!!!! This conclusion is so ridiculous that we will not waste our time commenting it further.

The Constitution of the Communist Party of China states that:

“Under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought, the Communist Party of China led the people of all ethnic groups in the country in their prolonged revolutionary struggle **against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, winning victory in the new-democratic revolution and founding the People’s Republic of China, a people’s democratic dictatorship**.” (Constitution of the Communist Party of China, amended and adopted at the

Seventeenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China on Oct. 21, 2007).

This paragraph is quite interesting. First of all, it is curious to note that they consider that the “revolutionary struggle” guided by Mao Zedong was waged against what they call imperialism, feudalism and...bureaucrat-capitalism! Apparently, the Chinese revisionists think that not all capitalism is bureaucratic but only a part of it, and they even explicitly affirm that the struggle of the CPC was directed against bureaucrat-capitalism. Therefore, we conclude that, accordingly with Chinese revisionists themselves, Mao Zedong and the CPC only fought against a bureaucratic kind of capitalism, and not against all kinds of capitalism. Of course, bearing the CPC’s historical course in mind, we must conclude that when the Chinese revisionists are referring to the struggle against bureaucrat-capitalism, they are referring to the struggle against the former bourgeoisie of the comprador type whose interests were in opposition with those of the Chinese national bourgeoisie which Mao and the CPC defended and fortified.

In fact, every Marxist-Leninist knows that capitalism has always a bureaucratic nature, it is never dynamic nor progressive nor “human”, contrary to what its propagandists claim. Therefore, if we fight against capitalism, we must also fight against the bureaucratic nature which is inherent to it. Consequently, it does not make any sense to say that we will fight against bureaucratic-capitalism, because all capitalism is bureaucratic. To say the contrary is to be a complete opportunist and a counter-revolutionary which tries to distinguish between the “bad” capitalism (bureaucratic-capitalism) and the “good” capitalism (non bureaucratic-capitalism), when every communist knows that there is never a “good” capitalism, that all kinds and types of capitalism, without exception, are always and invariably bad and dreadful.

But there is more. In the same paragraph, we are told that, under the leadership of Mao Zedong, the CPC transformed China into a “people’s democratic dictatorship”. In truth, when analyzing the Constitution of the CPC, we cannot find a single mention to the proletarian dictatorship. Instead, we find this thing called “people’s democratic dictatorship”. One is left to wonder about what the Chinese revisionists mean with this expression. People’s democratic dictatorship? What do they mean with “people”? Looking back again to the CPC’s historical and ideological course, we cannot avoid concluding that, in Maoists’ view, the national bourgeoisie is also included in what they call “people”. Therefore, we observe that the Constitution of the CPC which was adopted in 2007 follows exactly the same ideological line that we had already found in Mao’s book New Democracy which was written in 1940! This is a clear proof that the imaginary division which some Maoists draw between the CPC before Mao’s death (labeled as “socialist”, “ideologically pure”, “revolutionary”, etc...) and the CPC of Deng Xiaoping and his successors is nothing more than an imaginary and non-existent division. The ideological line followed by the CPC was always totally coherent with the class interests served by the party. The CPC invariably adopted a strategy and a line in total accordance with the interests of the

chinese national bourgeoisie, later turned into a veritable monopolist bourgeoisie.

The Maoists who argue that Deng Xiaoping and his successors are “traitors” to Mao’s “socialist line” constitute the second current within the Maoist movement. This current is as revisionist and social-fascist as the first one, but tries to cover its character through claiming the “purity of Maoism as the third development of Marxism-Leninism” and through the fake “denouncement” of what they call “the capitalist betrayal in China”. Accordingly with this last current, Mao was “betrayed” by what these Maoists call “the rightist section of the CPC”. Therefore, they pretend to defend “Mao’s socialist legacy” against capitalist development in China after Mao’s death (one of the main criticisms that this trend directs towards Comrade Enver is that he “had not the clairvoyance to distinguish between Mao and the Chinese pro-capitalist leaders which betrayed him” – as if there was some kind of substantial or ideological difference between them!!!) While the other current is openly pro-capitalist, this second current is much more hypocritical and treacherous, because it has a much more “revolutionary” and “Marxist” outlook. This trend is the dominant inside Maoist movement precisely because it is the one which better misleads the world proletariat and which better convinces the oppressed classes to support a counter-revolutionary ideology like Maoism.

One of the organizations included in this last trend of the Maoist movement is the so-called Union Obrera Comunista (UOC), a neo-revisionist organization which has the purpose of perpetuating capitalism. In order to achieve this task, the UOC tries by all means to discredit Stalinism-Hoxhaism, because Maoists perfectly know that Stalinism-Hoxhaism is the only ideology which can lead the world proletariat towards world socialist revolution. Maoists fear Comrade Enver Hoxha very much, because they are aware that Comrade Enver Hoxha is the Fifth Classic of Marxism-Leninism and not Mao Zedong; and they fear Hoxhaist ideology also because this is the only ideology which gave concrete historical proofs of being capable of unmask the reactionary and pro-capitalist character of the Mao Zedong Thought. In April of 2011, the official newspaper of the UOC arrogantly remarks that:

*“(...) there is an objective tendency within the international communist movement towards the reorganization of the Marxist-Leninists-Maoists (...) **Therefore, we understand the desperation of the Hoxhaist International (Comintern SH) which on 6th of February published a “Declaration of war against the Maoists”, an attack which, as happened with the trotskyists, shows the wicked face of the bourgeois detachments inside the communist movement (...) which in all history have never been able to accomplish a single victorious revolution (...).**” (UOC, Semanário Revolución Obrera, 18th April of 2011, translated from Spanish language).*

It's outrageous the way in which those social-fascists and defenders of chinese

imperialism dare to compare us Stalinist-Hoxhaists with the trotskyists and to qualify us as "bourgeois detachments inside the communist movement"!!!

Maoism is nothing more than chinese fascism. And it's really shameful to see Maoists' logo...to see how they consider the fascist Mao, the lover of Franco and Pinochet, the great friend of American imperialism, the main architect of chinese imperialism which exploits and oppresses the peoples of the entire world as the 5th head of "Marxism-Leninism-Maoism"!!!! It's deplorable to see how they put Mao side by side with such great communists as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. They accuse us of being desperate, but they are the ones which say that "in all history of the proletarian revolution, they (Stalinists-Hoxhaists) could not make a single successful revolution". No comments. We, Stalinists-Hoxhaists, are the followers and continuers of the Communist Party of the SU (B) and of the Labour Party of Albania, which were the two only Communist parties which accomplished socialist revolution by leading their respective peoples under the dictatorship of the proletariat towards socialist and communist society, no matter if their revolutionary course was ultimately thwarted by revisionist traitors after the deaths of comrade Stalin and of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

To what "successful revolution" are those social-fascists referring to? To the bourgeois chinese "revolution" inspired by confucianism and buddhist religion, which was conducted by a party which was communist only in name and whose objective was to pave the way to china's ascension as a new superpower?

When analyzing Maoist "arguments" against Hoxhaism, we notice that they insult us, but they don't specify their insults, they call us opportunists but they don't explain why. This is quite normal. Maoists can never point a single ideological error in what concerns Stalinist-Hoxhaist ideology simply because Stalinist-Hoxhaist ideology contains no errors nor in theory, nor in practice. The ideological purity of the Stalinist-Hoxhaist ideology is in total contrast with Maoism reactionary eclecticism.

In the excerpt, we can also note that the Maoists of the UOC try to compare us Hoxhaists with the Trotskyites. This abject "argument" has been widely used by the Maoist revisionists. For example, in its First May Declaration entitled "Joint message to the workers of the world", the UOC states that:

*"The unity of the communists must be conquered on the base of the defense of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism against all attacks (...) and, especially, against rightist opportunism which is nothing more than genuine revisionism **and which is allied with Trotskyism and Hoxhaism**, occupying the place of the bourgeois detachments inside workers' movement which deny Maoism as the third and the highest stage of the development of proletarian ideology." (UOC,*

First May Declaration, 2011, translated from Spanish language).

And in other occasions, the Maoists stated that:

“Hoxhaism joins Trotskyism in its denial of the necessity of organizing the peasantry.”

This comparison is totally false. If we properly and honestly analyze the ideological nature and the historical role played by each of them, we will easily conclude that Trotskyism and Hoxhaism are intrinsically opposite ideologies. Trotskyism tried to deny the thesis of the socialism in a single country at a time when acceptance of this thesis was essential to the survival of the October Revolution and of the socialist edification in Soviet Union. On the contrary, Hoxhaism proved that even a backward and semi-colonial country can apply this thesis in a successful manner if it is guided by an authentic proletarian and Marxist-Leninist party.

Trotskyites always negated the glorious legacy of Stalin, calumniating him in order to prevent the world proletariat from overthrowing capitalism. On the contrary, the PLA of Comrade Enver Hoxha was the only party which consistently and coherently defended Stalin’s splendid inheritance against all kinds of revisionists and deviators, including Maoists.

Trotskyism completely denied the role of the peasantry in the revolution. On the contrary, Hoxhaism recognizes that role. Indeed, the first partisan detachments of the Communist Party of Albania which fought against the Axis during the Second World War were mainly composed by peasants. However, Hoxhaism refuses to see peasants as “the main force of the revolution” as does Maoism, because Comrade Enver Hoxha knew that only the proletariat guided by its vanguard party can lead the workers towards socialist revolution and establish a communist society. Therefore, the claims that Trotskyism = Hoxhaism are nothing more than a proof of the anti-communist nature of Maoism.

It is Maoism which has everything in common with Trotskyism. Just like Mao, Trotsky also defended the existence of various parties under socialism. In his “Program of Transition”, Trotsky affirmed that:

*“The democratization of the Soviets is unconceivable without the **legalization of the Soviet Parties.**” (Trotsky, Programme de transition, Paris, 1973, translated from French language).*

And the fascists of the MLM also state that:

*“The President Mao was criticized by both the rightists and the leftists, but **he always insisted in the struggle between multiple currents within the proletarian party**, and it was like that since the beginnings of the Communist Party of China until the Cultural Revolution.” (Unión Obrera Comunista, Letter received from the committee of popular struggle “Manolo Bello”, 12th May 2011, translated from Spanish language).*

In this paragraph, we see that the “Marxist-Leninist-Maoists” recognize and praise the anti-Marxist and ultra-revisionist conception of Mao Zedong according to which the maintenance of numerous non-communist tendencies inside the “communist” party is something positive which should be stimulated. To defend this reactionary and opportunistic conception is to openly defend the evil bourgeois dictatorship and the totalitarian capitalist system. To defend this idea is to defend wretched bourgeois pluralism which also preaches the “diversity of opinions within society”.

And we should remember that the MLM is one of the more “leftist” factions of the entire Maoist Movement. Therefore, even the “orthodox” section of the Maoist movement loves bourgeois pluralism very much and has no problems about assuming that depraved love.

Recently, the Maoists again exposed their ultra-revisionist face in the context of the events in Nepal. After centuries of absolute and despotic monarchy, the king of Nepal was overthrown and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) took power. However, this was not a revolutionary nor Marxist-Leninist takeover, because a party based on Maoist ideology can never be revolutionary nor Marxist-Leninist. In fact, instead of establishing a proletarian dictatorship towards the edification of socialist and communist society, the “C”PN (Maoist) abjectly capitulated to the repulsive bourgeois legalism and parliamentarism.

There was another party which was also “opposed” to the Nepalese absolute monarchy. It was the Nepali Congress, an openly bourgeois party of social-democratic ideology which is linked with the interests of Indian imperialism in Nepal. Of course, if the CPN (Maoist) was a truly communist party, it should have smashed the Nepali Congress whose pro-capitalist ideology was poisoning the minds of the Nepalese people and preventing the country from taking the socialist road. The revolutionary violence which is inherent to the proletarian dictatorship serves precisely to eliminate bourgeois parties and influences. But the CPN (Maoist), faithfully following the reactionary and anti-communist nature of Maoist ideology, not only did not implement the proletarian dictatorship, but also organized elections of bourgeois style (!!!!). In these elections, the Nepali Congress won and the leader of that party is currently governing Nepal. Consequently, the CPN (Maoist) accepted defeat and left power, thus acting as the well behaved bourgeois party that it is.

Long time ago, Comrade Stalin taught us that a genuine revolutionary party cannot wait until the majority of the people has acquired Marxist-Leninist conscience to seize power. On the contrary, the communist party must conquer power as soon as possible, and it is after the seizure of power that the Marxist-Leninist party must start to educate and temper the exploited classes which still not have a developed revolutionary conscience and ideology. As can be seen, the CPN (Maoist) acted in the opposite manner and helped to perpetuate capitalist and bourgeois-imperialist dominance in Nepal.

The “orthodox” current of the Maoist Movement hypocritically qualifies the attitudes of the CPN (Maoist) as “revisionist”. However, this false criticism is completely unmasked by the fascists of the MLM themselves which, immediately after qualifying the CPN (Maoist) as revisionist, affirm that:

“The red faction within the CPN (M) is supported by the international maoist organizations. **It is our duty to support it in order to facilitate the advancement of the New Democracy Revolution in Nepal.**” (Unión Obrera Comunista, Letter received from the committee of popular struggle “Manolo Bello”, 12th May 2011, translated from Spanish language).

Therefore, they criticize the CPN (M) not from truly Marxist-Leninist and anti-revisionist standpoints, but only because they want the replacement of the open revisionism of the CPN (M) by another kind of revisionism, one with a more “revolutionary”, “popular” and “Marxist” outlook; one which is more able to deceive the Nepalese people and to turn proletarian and socialist revolution impossible. This is evident in the defense that these “orthodox Maoists” still do of the social-fascist New Democracy fabricated by Mao. The reactionary and pro-capitalist nature of this “New Democracy” was already exposed in this article and there is no need to repeat it.

MLM also claims the defense of the so-called “Naxalite Movement” in India. This “Movement” is mainly inspired by Mao Zedong Thought and is operating in many districts of India. The Naxalites are labeled by the world bourgeoisie and by the Indian reaction as “communists”, but this qualification is not correct. Since 1978, from the moment that a party or a certain “movement” assumes that it is based on Maoism, that is equivalent to openly affirm that the party or “movement” in question is anti-communist.

The Naxalite movement begun in 1967 and claims to be leading a “people’s war” against the repressive Indian government. Accordingly with the leaders of the “movement”, the Naxalite combatants are mostly recruited among the poorest strata of the population and it is quite possible that those leaders are saying the true. But the fact that its members come from the

lower classes does not mean that a certain movement is progressive, let alone Marxist-Leninist. The fact that the Naxalite movement is mainly composed by people from the poor classes only proves how much can Maoism deceive the exploited masses and neutralize their revolutionary aspirations.

The activities developed by the Naxalite Movement are not revolutionary nor Marxist-Leninist. Indeed, they have striking similarities with the actions of the anarchists or of the nihilists. The “revolutionary activities” undertaken by the Naxalites consist in organizing terrorist attacks mostly in the countryside (although sometimes also in cities), killing large amounts of people. The Naxalites claim that these attacks are intended to kill the members of the bourgeois security forces, but the truth is that, together with the members of the armed forces, the attacks of the Naxalites also kill oppressed working people. For example, in the year 2009, the Naxalites killed around 600 civilians and only 300 members of the security forces. This means that the number of civilians killed by the attacks doubled that of the members of the armed forces who died in the same circumstances. And we must bear in mind that the Naxalites mainly operate in poor areas, therefore the immense majority of the civilians killed by them belong to the exploited classes.

It is obvious that these kind of activities have as result the detachment of the Indian masses from communist ideology. If the actions of the Naxalites only detached Indian workers from Maoism, that would not be a problem; on the contrary, it would be a very good thing. But unfortunately, the bourgeoisie misleads the proletariat and defends its class interests by painting Maoism as an inseparable part of the communist ideology. Thus, when condemning and fearing the terrorist actions of the Naxalites, the Indian workers feel compelled to condemn and fear not only the Maoist ideology which inspires the Naxalites, but also the entire Marxist-Leninist ideology and movement which, under the manipulation of the bourgeoisie, they see as inescapably linked with Naxalite terrorism.

The fascists of the MLM qualify the activities of the Naxalites as a “people’s war”. In truth, it is not only relatively to the Naxalite movement that the anti-communists of the MLM speak about “people’s war”. This expression is permanently on their lips. But what does this notion really means?

The political-military concept of “people’s war” was invented by Mao Zedong to be applied to China’s conditions (although it was also used by the Nicaraguan Sandinists, by the Cuban Revisionists, by the Nepalese opportunists, and even by the Irish republican nationalists of the IRA). The “people’s war” is intended to be mostly applied in semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries, in which the peasantry represents the majority of the population. The “people’s war” is also closely related with the “encirclement of the city by the countryside”, because Mao

defends that it is in the countryside that the so-called “revolutionary forces” should start the “guerrilla warfare” against the bourgeois government. The “people’s war” is divided in three stages:

1° - Strategic defense: formation of peasant militias with the purpose of starting the guerrilla warfare. The “warriors” should try to gain the support of the peasants through propaganda and to establish a revolutionary base area.

2° - The “revolutionary” army grows and launches more attacks against the state and its forces. It forms more revolutionary base areas and initiates programs such as the agrarian reform.

3° - This is the final part of the “people’s war”. It is the stage in which the war intensity reaches its highest degree and in which the city must be conquered and the government must be overthrown.

It is evident that this concept of “people’s war” is totally anti-Marxist because the entire idea is centered on the already referred Maoist thesis according to which it is the peasantry and not the proletariat which should lead the revolution. The same happens with every stage of the “people’s war”. Mao defends that the “revolutionary” war should begin on the countryside and be mainly supported and waged by the peasants. If we follow Mao’s thought concerning the course of this “people’s war”, we will easily conclude that in this war there is no place left to the proletariat. During the entire process of the “people’s war”, the determinant role is invariably attributed by Mao to the peasantry and to the countryside. It is in the countryside that the decisive struggles are waged, and it is the peasantry that provides the great majority of the members and leaders of the “revolutionary army”. In truth, only at the final part of the third stage Mao allows that the “revolutionary fighters” should capture cities. And we must note that, even in this final stage, the cities will be conquered by “revolutionary guerrillas” mainly composed by peasants.

In other words, the dominant and leading role that Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha attribute to the proletariat is completely obliterated by Mao in this anti-communist concept of “people’s war”. However, this is not something astonishing because it is not only in what respects to the “people’s war” that Mao denies the dominant role of the proletariat. In fact, Mao denies the leading role of the proletariat throughout his ideological writings and also throughout his entire political career; from 1940 book “New Democracy” to his “reflections” about the “Cultural Revolution” in the late 60’s.

The use of the expression “**people’s war**” is also frequently used by the Maoists to hide their support for the participation and inclusion of the “radical” and “progressive” bourgeoisie in

this “revolutionary” and “popular” war.

This is not to say that the exploited classes will not need to wage war against the bourgeoisie in order to implement the proletarian dictatorship. It is not the idea of the “peoples’ war” that is entirely wrong, but the Maoist definition of it. To achieve power, the oppressed masses must declare war on the ruling classes, but this war can only be communist and revolutionary if it is led by the proletariat. There is no other class or popular branch who can replace the principal and indispensable role that the proletariat has to play in the revolution. On the other side, the proletariat must be organized around a veritable and centralized Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist-Hoxhaist party which must be free from all kinds of revisionist tendencies (including Maoism, of course).

If the proletarian control starts to observe that some revisionist currents are appearing within the communist party and that those currents are able to undermine and sabotage the socialist edification, then the proletarian dictatorship has not only the right but also the duty to purge the party from all the elements that are linked with the revisionist deviations. This was what happened in the Soviet Union of Comrades Lenin and Stalin and in Socialist Albania of Comrade Enver Hoxha. In both countries, there were periods of war in the traditional sense of the word against the internal and external oppressors: the Russian Civil War in the case of Soviet Union, and the National Liberation War in Socialist Albania’s case. And after the respective victories of the Russian and Albanian Marxist-Leninists, the proletarian class struggle against the exploiters didn’t stop; on the contrary, it intensified even more with the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat in both countries (we must always keep in mind that this class war against the exploiters goes on during the entire period of socialist edification right until communism is utterly achieved).

Of course that in Maoist China, the so-called “people’s war” only served the interests of the chinese national bourgeoisie in defeating the bourgeoisie-compradore and the foreign imperialisms which were thwarting its economical and political ascension.

In fact, the Maoist expression “people’s war” must be replaced by the expression “proletarian revolutionary war”. This last expression permits to retain the notion of the necessity of the armed struggle against the capitalist oppressors while simultaneously underlining the decisive and major role that the proletariat has to play in that struggle for the triumph of the authentic revolution. Additionally, we can never forget that the proletarian revolutionary war must be always conducted by the vanguard party of the proletariat, which must be free from opportunisms and dogmatisms of all kinds and which must always keep in mind the complete establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. And we must also remember that, in the present globalized conditions, the proletarian revolutionary war should be waged at a world scale.

It is obvious that this genuinely proletarian and communist war is in total contrast with the petty-bourgeois and anarchistic fights of the Naxalite Maoist movement. First of all, the “founding father” of the Naxalites was an Indian Maoist called Charu Majumdar, which in 1967 led a peasant uprising in Naxalbari (that is the reason for the name of the movement).

His main work was the “[Historic Eight Documents](#)”, which has been seen as providing the ideological foundation of the Naxalites. In the “[Historic Eight Documents](#)”, Majumdar argues that Indian revolution must take the path of armed struggle on the pattern of the Chinese revolution. With this, we easily understand that the Naxalite movement is Maoist to the bone (and thus revisionist, reactionary and anti-Marxist) since its very foundations. Indeed, it operates mainly in the countryside and its members are mostly peasants, as Mao’s “people’s war” proposed.

And there is still another important aspect in which the Naxalites faithfully fulfill the “teachings” of the “Chairman Mao”: the multiplicity of parties in the leadership of the Naxalite Movement. This is in total agreement with Mao’s defense of various non-proletarian parties under socialism. In fact, the social-imperialists of the MLM want us to believe that “the Communist Party of India (Maoist) is leading the Naxalite movement”. But this is a lie. The CPI (M) is only one among many other “communist” parties which also claim to lead the “Movement”. The truth is that the Naxalite Movement is not composed by a single party; it is composed by various parties which are commonly based on Maoism. Some of the parties which are included in the “movement” apply an ideology which is openly anti-Marxist. For example, the Communist Party of the United States of India defends that caste issues should be precedent over class issues. This is a great error because the caste system is nothing more than a fabrication by the Indian ruling classes in order to deviate the attention of the proletariat from the only question that really matters: the class question. So, on one side these “communist parties” pretend to struggle against the Indian ruling classes, but on the other side, they gladly accept and embrace the ideological inventions and influences of those same ruling classes.

This does not mean that there are not people within the Naxalite movement who sincerely think that they are part of a genuinely revolutionary movement and that, by following Maoism, they are defending Marxism-Leninism. After all, India is a country in which the poor workers (which constitute the main social base of the Naxalites) have to endure a miserable life, with ridiculous salaries and horrendous working conditions. And we must never forget that Maoism is a very treacherous bourgeois ideology, whose “anti-revisionist” and “Marxist” appearance can attract and deceive many honest workers that are genuinely against capitalist system, but that are not correctly informed and that don’t have truly Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist-Hoxhaist ideological skills.

A similar situation to that of the Indian Naxalites occurred in Peru with a Maoist group

called the Shinning Path. This group was led by a bourgeois professor known as President Gonzalo (although his real name was Abimael Guzmán). The group's ideology is a mixture of Maoist revisionism and Guevarist influences and it wants to conquer power in order to implement a system of New Democracy (which means the perpetuation of capitalism and the continuation of workers' exploitation by the "radical" and "progressive" bourgeoisie). Following the strategy of Maoist "people's war", the Shinning Path established base areas and its actions were equivalent to those of the Naxalites. Both "movements" are characterized by their terrorist attacks against the working people, by their obliteration of the role of the proletariat, by their consequent absolutization of the role played by the peasants as the initiators of the "people's war" and by trying to detach the oppressed masses of the city and of the countryside from Marxism-Leninism.

The Shinning Path reached the peak of activity in the early 80's and claimed to represent the interests and the aspirations of the Peruvian peasantry, but the truth is that it faced the opposition of large numbers of peasants from the very beginning (there were many occasions in which the peasants attacked the members of the Shinning Path and those conflicts often developed into harsh armed struggles).

The Shinning Path is still active, although it is inexorably declining since the capture of President Gonzalo in the early 90's. The ideological revisionism and opportunism of the Shinning Path is a direct consequence of its Maoist roots and can be observed in the words of Gonzalo himself, who in 1988 gave an interview to the newspaper "El Diario":

"El Diario: What will be the attitude of the Communist Party of Peru regarding religion from the moment that the party reaches political power in the country?

President Gonzalo: Marxism taught us how to separate the Church from the State and that will be the first thing that we will do. Secondly, let me repeat that we always respect the freedom of conscience of the people, and we apply the principle according to which people have the right to believe in God, while having also the right to be atheist. This is our attitude."

This paragraph is just astonishing. And it is astonishing because the Shinning Path is presented everywhere as an orthodox and radical communist group which supposedly would not hesitate to use violence against the bourgeois institutions. However, the answer of Gonzalo concerning the attitude of the Shinning Path towards religion totally destroys that image of Shinning Path as the "hard-line communist organization".

The purpose of all religions is to prevent the oppressed workers from adhering to communist materialist ideology and from doing the world socialist revolution. Religion always plays an inhibiting role, and we will never be able to achieve world communism if religion is not

totally removed from the workers' conscience. This is what Marxism really teaches us.

Gonzalo's proposal about the separation between Church and State is not something new. On the contrary, the principle of the separation between the church and the state has been largely proclaimed by every bourgeois and "liberal" state (even if not applied in practice...). Every Marxist-Leninist knows that the effort to eradicate religion cannot be limited to the separation between the Church and the State. That struggle has to be constituted by an open and ferocious struggle against all kinds of religions, including the use of revolutionary violence against the reactionary as well as against the "progressive" clergy which will attempt to overthrow the proletarian dictatorship and to undermine socialist and communist edification. There can be no mercy towards religious influences and forces. Stalinist-Hoxhaist proletarian ideology will smash all religions like an hurricane.

The words of Gonzalo are proper of a liberal bourgeois, not of someone which qualifies himself as "Marxist". For the leader of the Shinning Path, people should be free to decide if they believe in God or not; if they want to practice religion or not. This is a totally opportunistic and capitulationist attitude. To act like Gonzalo means an abject capitulation to religions influences, thus permitting that the religious forces can freely thwart socialist revolution in order to restore capitalism and wage slavery.

However, we cannot accuse Gonzalo of being incoherent. On the contrary, he is totally coherent with Mao's embracement of non-proletarian and anti-communist influences, as is the case of religion.

Another major characteristic of Maoist revisionism is its attempt to annihilate Marxism-Leninism by replacing it with pro-capitalist "Mao Zedong Thought". This was clearly visible in the case of the Shinning Path. In the interview mentioned above, President Gonzalo (the leader of the Shinning Path) also said that:

*"The ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, **principally Maoism, is the only ideology which is truly powerful** (...) it is the product of the extraordinary historical work of such extraordinary men as Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and President Mao Zedong (...) but we will specially underline three of them: Marx, Lenin **and President Mao** because their work will be continued and fulfilled by **Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly by Maoism.**"*

As can be seen, Gonzalo shamelessly tries to erase and deny the tremendous importance of the work of Comrades Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin while ridiculously overestimating a reactionary bourgeois nationalist like Mao!!! In truth, we observe that Gonzalo not only considers Mao as one of the Classics of Marxism-Leninism, but he even tries to paint Mao as being above Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin! Gonzalo's positions are so intensely

revisionist that we must conclude that when he says that “we will specially underline three of them: Marx, Lenin and President Mao”, he only mentions Marx and Lenin to avoid being immediately unmasked as the social-fascist and anti-communist that he is. And Gonzalo’s reactionarism reaches outrageous levels when we notice the disrespect and disdain which he shows relatively to Comrades Engels and Stalin, as if their work and legacy are of no value. Unfortunately, it is not only Gonzalo and the Peruvian Maoists which treat Engels and Stalin in a scornful way. All Maoists without exception treat the communist legacy of these two Comrades in the same manner. Of course, what the Maoists really want is to totally expunge also the names of Comrades Marx and Lenin, but, as happened with Gonzalo, they don’t dare to do that because if they denied the work of Marx and Lenin they would loose even the smallest remnants of the “communist” and “revolutionary” masquerade which they use as a disguise to their social-fascist ideology.

In what concerns Comrade Stalin, the Maoists use the same arguments of the bourgeois “criticisms” against him as an excuse to deny his magnificent legacy; while the valorous work of Comrade Engels is simply ignored by the MLM.

We, Stalinists-Hoxhaists, know that there are five Classics of Marxism-Leninism: Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha. All the five Classics have the same value and they cannot be considered from a purely individual perspective. The legacy of each of them is intimately related with the legacy of all the others. Although our ideology is called Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism, we refuse to underestimate the glorious and irreplaceable work of Comrade Engels, which is the second Classic of our ideology and has exactly the same worth as any of the other four Classics.

It is obvious why the Maoists in general and the Shinning Path in particular try to wipe out and deny the inheritance of the true Classics of Marxism-Leninism. They try to diminish and to erase the importance of the first four Classics of Marxism-Leninism while simultaneously misleading the world proletariat about the true identity of the fifth Classic of Marxism-Leninism (which is Comrade Enver and not Mao) because this is essential to defend the bourgeois and social-imperialist interests they are serving. Through the replacement of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin by the fascist Mao they are directing the world workers towards a reactionary ideology which is detaching the proletariat from the revolution. The main purpose of Maoism is to eternally maintain the capitalist system by avoiding the outcome of the world socialist revolution through all means. In order to cover their intentions, the Maoists spend their time screaming about “world socialist revolution”, “proletarian internationalism”, etc...But the analysis of the origins, history, actions and consequences of the Mao Zedong Thought totally unmasks their evil intentions, and clearly shows that expressions like “world socialist revolution” and “proletarian internationalism” are nothing more than empty lies when said by the Maoists.

Stalinism-Hoxhaism is the only ideology which can fully erase the poisonous influence of Maoism from the conscience of the workers. And this because Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism is the only ideology which is completely faithful and coherent with the interests of the world socialist revolution: it is the only ideology which is able to successfully lead the world proletariat towards the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship and the edification of socialism and communism.

Nowadays, there are Maoist parties in almost every country of the world. The reactionarism which characterizes the Mao Zedong Thought is largely spread among world workers. In face of this, the Maoists certainly think that their wicked ideology will be “the dominant force within the international communist movement”. But they are wrong. It is to us, Stalinist-Hoxhaists, that the future belongs.

We, Stalinist-Hoxhaists, are the only true defenders of the communist ideology, and we are entitled to triumph over the social-imperialist and social-fascist “Maoist movement”.

Maoism is nothing more than a disgusting pro-capitalist and reactionary ideological aberration. The “Mao Zedong Thought” is not a development but a deformation of Marxism-Leninism and thus it will inevitably disappear as will happen with everything which is of bourgeois nature:

“Mao Tsetung was not a Marxist-Leninist, but a progressive bourgeois revolutionary, more progressive than Liu Shao-chi, but still a centrist revolutionary, who posed as a communist and stood at the head of the Communist Party. Within China, in the party, among the people, and abroad, he had the reputation of a great Marxist-Leninist who fought for the construction of socialism. But his views were not Marxist-Leninist, he did not follow the theory of Marx and Lenin, was a continuer of the work of Sun Yat-sen, but in more advanced positions, and dressed up his views, so to say, with some leftist revolutionary formulas, some Marxist-Leninist theses and slogans. Mao Tsetung posed as a Marxist-Leninist dialectician, but he was not so.”

Mao Tsetung thought» is not Marxism- Leninism and that Mao Tsetung was not a Marxist-Leninist. He did not betray himself, as you might say. We say that Mao is a renegade, is an anti-Marxist, and this is a fact. We say this because he tried to disguise himself with Marxism- Leninism, but in fact he was never a Marxist.

In general, we can say that in some directions the revolution in China had certain features of a tendency to develop on the socialist road, but the measures taken stopped halfway, or were annulled, as they are being annulled at present, and the masks will be dropped one after the other. All these things must be understood by the Chinese people, and they must

be understood outside China, too, because, unfortunately, the whole development of that country, the national liberation war of the Chinese people, the establishment of the progressive bourgeois people's democratic state, has gone down in history as a proletarian revolution (...)" (Enver Hoxha, Reflections on China, Volume II, December 26, 1977, Tirana, 1979, edition in English).

When the world proletariat finally takes weapons and overthrows world bourgeoisie, the counter-revolutionary influence of Maoism will definitively be removed from proletarian conscience. We, Stalinists-Hoxhaists, are the only ones who remain faithful to the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism: Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha. We are the ones which tirelessly fight against all kinds of revisionism, without any exception. Maoism has caused tremendous damages to the Communist Movement, but Maoists' plans and tricks to deceive the exploited classes will not last forever and will ultimately fail. As Comrade Enver Hoxha once said:

"No force, no torture, no intrigue, no deception can eradicate Marxism-Leninism from the minds and hearts of men." (Enver Hoxha, Eurocommunism is anti-communism, Tirana, 1980, edition in English).

***World proletariat — unite against Maoist bourgeois
ideology!***

***Fight against the treacherous and pro-capitalist
Chinese revisionism!***

***Don't be deceived by Maoist apparent "revolutionary"
and "Marxist" outlook!***

Maoism is nothing more than social-fascism!

Denounce the crimes of Chinese social-imperialism!

***Establish the proletarian dictatorship through the
armed proletarian world revolution!***

Let's edificate world socialism and world communism!

Long live the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism:

Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha!

***Long live the Comintern (SH), the only authentic
defender of the proletarian ideology!***

Long Live Stalinism-Hoxhaism!

Long Live the World Socialist Revolution!

Declaration of War against Maoists III

1 – Introduction

Among all anti-socialist ideologies that the world bourgeoisie ever managed to fabricate, Maoist ideology can rightly be considered as one of the most treacherous and reactionary:

“One of the most successful instruments of the bourgeoisie to disarm the proletariat and the people are undoubtedly the anti-Leninist “Mao Tsetung Ideas”. By the „Mao Tsetung Ideas“ Chinese revisionism came to power and hindered - in fact - the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, hindered Leninism to come true in China.” (Documents of the Comintern (Stalinists-Hoxhaists), *Neo-revisionism or Leninism?*, 2004, edition in English)

In fact, Maoism hides its pro-bourgeois nature behind “Marxist” and “leftist” slogans in order to mislead the proletarians. It is true that Maoism is far from being the only pro-capitalist ideology which hides behind “communist” masks. However, we can affirm that Maoism is one of the best examples of the bourgeois capacity to corrupt Marxism-Leninism and to spread illusions among workers. Just like happened with Trotskyism, Maoism was one of the first reactionary ideologies to cover itself with “anti-revisionist” slogans. Indeed, just like the Maoists also the Trotskyites masked themselves behind “struggle against revisionism” (of course, this was aimed against Stalinism. There are even certain Trotskyites who mask themselves behind the “struggle against Maoism”).

After all, Maoism can be considered as an ideological fabrication invented by the bourgeoisie to prevent workers from acquiring a truly Marxist-Leninist consciousness; that is, when all the other pro-capitalist ideologies have failed to alienate workers, then bourgeoisie utilizes Maoism to do so. Maoism is undoubtedly one of the most perfect creations of the exploiting classes to divert workers from Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism. And there is no better proof of this than the immense numbers of world proletarians which continue to believe that Maoism is a genuinely socialist ideology. Mao’s “Marxist” disguise is so well done that it even managed to

mislead many experienced and honest communists, especially during the period of Mao's fake "struggle against Khrushchevism". That's why we, Stalinist-Hoxhaists, must reveal Maoism's veritable character to the broad masses and that's why our relentless struggle against Maoist ideology cannot stand still.

With this purpose, in the previous first and second parts of the Declaration of War on Maoism (DWM), we tried to expose the main principles of Maoist ideology explaining why Maoism cannot be considered as a revolutionary and communist ideology but on the contrary, it is a deeply revisionist, anti-Marxist and backward ideology whose objective is to pave the way for the imperialist ascension of the Chinese national bourgeoisie. We disclosed the truth behind the concept of "state of New Democracy" invented by Mao to justify the bourgeois domination in the so-called Chinese "socialist revolution" at the detriment of the working classes which continued to be exploited and oppressed by the Chinese national bourgeoisie under "socialistic" cloaks. Indeed, Maoism was intended to mislead the Chinese proletarians, making them believe that socialism was being built in China, and thus hindering the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship in the country. These illusions had the purpose of making the Chinese workers support the national "patriotic" bourgeoisie in its quest for consolidating its power against its main rivals: foreign imperialism and the Chinese bourgeoisie of the compradore type. Therefore, the truth is that Maoism started by being nothing more than an ideological instrument fabricated and used by one section of the Chinese exploiting classes against the other sections of those same classes at the expenses of the Chinese proletariat.

Besides this, we tried to analyze the most significant episodes of the history of Chinese revisionism, that is, not only the ones related with the naissance and consolidation of Maoism in itself, but also the ones connected with Mao's social-imperialist successors who – far from having "betrayed" Mao, as the fascists of the MLM claim – limited themselves to the continuation of Mao's ideological trajectory towards the transformation of China into a world imperialist superpower.

We reflected about Mao's supposed "anti-revisionist" struggle against Khrushchev in the early 60's, revealing it as nothing more than an inter-bourgeois contradiction between two social-fascist leaders who wanted to have total control over the international communist movement in order to better liquidate it.

Furthermore, we exposed the class nature and class intentions behind the famous "Great Leap Forward" and the "Great Cultural Revolution" and we also explained how Chinese imperialism tried to prevent the development of socialism in Albania and how comrade Enver Hoxha's denouncement of Maoist social-fascism elucidated the authentic revolutionaries and directed them towards the correct Marxist-Leninist path of the struggle against all currents of revisionism without exception. The 1978 Sino-Albanian Split was inevitable due to the irreconcilable class contradictions between Socialist Albania and social-fascist China. Comrade Enver's brilliant books like "Reflections on China", "Imperialism and the Revolution" and "The Khrushchevists" allowed the world revolutionaries to understand what Maoism truly is and taught them how to efficiently struggle against it.

Besides our analysis of the historical course of the "C" PC and our denouncement of its bourgeois and pro-capitalist foundations and aims, we focused on the actions of other Maoist organizations like the Peruvian Shining Path or the Cambodian Khmer Rouge. In both cases, we concluded that the reactionary and pro-imperialist character of Maoism can never inspire authentic Marxist-Leninist organizations, but on the contrary, it can only give birth to social-fascism. The Shining Path and the Khmer Rouge were ultra-revisionist organizations whose purpose was to favor the bourgeoisie and to terrorize working masses, keeping them away from socialism. The Shinning Path and the Khmer Rouge depicted themselves as "communist", thus inculcating in the oppressed masses the false idea of correlation between the terrorist activities of those Maoist organizations and the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

Both in the first and second parts of the DWM, we also centered our attention on more recent issues related with the counter-revolutionary activities of the so-called MLM “movement”, such as the anti-socialist Nepalese “Revolution” and the anarchistic-terrorist Naxalite “Revolution” in India. Now - with the third part of the DWM - our objective is to continue our analysis of those anti-socialist ideological actions. In order to do this, we selected a group of Maoist parties and organizations from all continents with the purpose of disclosing their pro-capitalist and reactionary character through the scrutiny of their own documents and ideological principles. All these Maoist parties and organizations are staunch enemies of the world socialist revolution, they do their utmost to prevent the establishment of the world proletarian dictatorship, of world socialism and world communism. For all these reasons, it is our duty as Stalinist-Hoxhaists to continue our coherent and consistent struggle against Maoist revisionism always basing our combat on the immortal teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism: Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha.

2 – American continent

The American continent has been under Maoist influence since many decades. This situation is particularly acute in what respects to Latin America, in which, as we shall see, Maoist social-fascism is closely linked with Guevarism – a veritable ideological disease deliberately spread by the bourgeoisie to poison the minds of the exploited workers preventing them from acquiring a genuine socialist consciousness. This Maoist influence in Latin America can be explained through the “ideological seduction” that Maoism’s “leftist” phraseology and pseudo-“Stalinist” positions exercise over the miserable Latin American proletarians. After all, Latin America is still among the most oppressed regions of the world. During many centuries, Latin America was – and continues to be – subjected to the harshest imperialist oppression (coming from both the “traditional” imperialist powers like the USA and from the new imperialist powers like China and Brazil). In face of this, it is not difficult to understand that the socio-economic conditions of Latin America provide a fertile ground to the expansion of Mao’s anti-Marxist “theories” within the ranks of the impoverished Latin American workers. Indeed, Maoism is so thoroughly spread in Latin America that we can only conclude that the exploiting classes favor the adoption of Maoist ideology by the oppressed masses. And – let’s face it – what better manner of misleading the proletarians could they find? They could have never conceived a more favorable ideology than Maoism, because Maoism is an ideology which has a pro-capitalist and social-imperialist content, but at the same time it has a “socialistic” appearance – what transforms Maoism in the perfect weapon to mislead the toiling masses of Latin America who are not aware of Maoism’s inherent reactionary nature.

Indeed, we have to take into account Maoism in relation to the class of the **peasants**. Latin America was characterized by agriculture, while North America is characterized by industry; peasants in Latin America are the biggest class; and in contrast the industrial **proletariat** is predominant in North America. Through the overwhelming majority of the peasants in China and Latin-America, we can conclude similarities and parallels of the living conditions of the class of the peasants, and that made it relatively easy to export petty-bourgeois ideology - like Maoism - to Latin America.

Relatively to North America, Maoist influence is not as intense as in Latin America, but this does not mean this it is absent. Quite on the contrary, it has been a serious handicap for the development of socialist revolution in North America. One of the best examples of the noxious influence of Maoism in North America is the former Black Panther Party, an organization of assumed Maoist tendencies which acted like a sect with the alleged purpose of “liberating afro-Americans from oppression and exploitation”. True, Afro-Americans are among the most exploited and oppressed workers in North America, but the Black Panther Party could never achieve their socio-economic liberation. And this because it never managed to renounce to its

nationalist/ anarchist views and actions which – together with its Maoist leanings – prevented the BPP from ever reaching the deepest aspirations of the North American proletariat. In fact, as its own name clearly reveals, the Black Panther Party committed a very serious mistake: since the beginning it openly aimed to “solve the problems of Afro-American workers”, thus remitting all the other workers to a secondary place and creating a racial division between black and non-black workers. This is, of course, in total opposition to the teachings of the Classics, who struggled all their lives to unite the world workers, encouraging them to surpass the differences related with race or gender.

The Maoist leaders of the BPP often affirmed that “black workers should receive an indemnization in compensation for the centuries of exploitation and repression against them”. Besides the fact that the “radical” and “ultra-leftist” Maoist leaders of the BPP sounded like bourgeois lawyers calling for an “indemnization” to their clients, we must ask: And who would pay those indemnization? The white workers, who – in most cases – are as miserable and exploited as black workers and who also endured centuries of oppression and exploitation? And even if those indemnization were paid by the ruling classes, that wouldn’t solve any of the problems related with the entire capitalist system; on the contrary, the ruling classes would “indemnify” the black workers only to better continue their exploitation.

It is obvious that all these mistakes and deviations had much to do with the Maoist nature of the BPP which prevented it from becoming a veritable revolutionary party and from ever being a true menace to the North-American monstrous capitalist-imperialist plutocracy.

Concluding, both Latin American and North American workers are submerged in anti-communism, with Maoist revisionism playing a major role in their misleading. Therefore, we hope that this article will help them to adopt a consistent Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist-Hoxhaist ideology free from all anti-socialist deviations.

2.1 – Communist Workers’ Union (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist) – Colombia

The “Communist” Workers’ Union (MLM) (in Spanish: *Unión Obrera Comunista Marxista-Leninista-Maoísta*) is a Colombian organization which openly follows “Marxism-Leninism-Maoism”:

“Art. 1- The CWU (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist) is a pro-party organization of the working class and its interests are the same of those of the proletariat. Its theoretical base, its guide to action and its work methods are those of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (...).” (Documents of the CWU, *Estatutos de la Unión Obrera Comunista*, September of 2001, translated from Spanish language)

This statement taken from the CWU’s own statutes clearly reveals that Colombian Maoists are totally anti-Leninist and reactionary, because they try to mislead the masses relatively to Maoism’s ideological nature. They falsely affirm themselves to be “an organization of the working class” and that their “interests are the same of those of the proletariat”, but at the same time they expressly assume their adherence to Maoism. This is an unsolvable contradiction. It is impossible to defend the interests of the proletariat and of the working class while adopting Maoist social-fascism as an official ideology (as it is the case with the Colombian Maoists). As comrade Enver straightforwardly said:

“The anti-Marxist concepts of «Mao Tse-Tung thought» about the revolution are even more obvious in the way Mao has treated the motive forces of the revolution. Mao Tsetung did not recognize the hegemonic role of the proletariat. (...) According to Mao, it turns out that the peasantry and not the working class should play the hegemonic role in the revolution.” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in

English)

Therefore, when the Colombian Maoists or any other Maoists around the world claim to “serve the interests of the working class”, this is nothing more than a shameful amount of lies. Maoism never wanted to defend the interests of the proletariat. Quite on the contrary, Mao’s purpose was to create an ideology that could serve the interests of the Chinese national bourgeoisie. However, during the first stages of its ascension, this bourgeoisie needed the support of the oppressed masses in its struggle against the Chinese pro-imperialist bourgeoisie. Therefore, Maoism had to include some “revolutionary” and “popular” slogans which would attract those oppressed masses to the side of the national bourgeoisie. That is the reason behind the “leftist” phrases that sometimes appear in Mao’s books and works. And we must note that even those “revolutionary” slogans are in complete opposition to Marxism-Leninism because Mao always denied the leading role of the proletariat, affirming that the peasantry should take the lead in revolution. It is easy to see what kind of interests this anti-socialist thesis serves. The Chinese national bourgeoisie could never allow the Chinese working class to take the lead in the anti-imperialist revolution, because that could mean its transformation into a socialist revolution and – consequently – all the plans of the Chinese national bourgeoisie to become the absolute ruling class in the country and to turn China into an imperialist power would have failed. But at the same time, it could never assume that it was leading that anti-imperialist “revolution”, because this implied the risk of allowing the Chinese exploited classes to understand that, far from advancing towards socialism, Maoist China was indeed a dictatorship of the “progressive” section of the Chinese bourgeoisie. Therefore, as the bourgeois lackey he was, Mao had to find a manner of at least neutralizing the role of the Chinese proletariat without having to openly assume the class dominance of the Chinese national bourgeoisie. In order to accomplish this, he preached the role of peasantry as the major motive force behind the “revolution”. In this way, he denied the leading role of the proletariat (thus preventing the outcome of the socialist revolution) and simultaneously he managed to give a “popular” outlook to his ultra-reactionary thesis. Furthermore, through this, he also granted the support of the Chinese numerous peasants to the cause of the Chinese “patriotic” bourgeoisie. This support carried no risks because the peasantry is not able to transform a bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution without the proletariat.

Of course, we must never be misled about the fact that – despite Mao’s treacherous talk about “the peasants’ role” – the Chinese peasantry never had the leading role in the Maoist capitalist state. That role always belonged to the Chinese “patriotic” bourgeoisie:

“The Chinese revolution has been dominated by the petty- and middle bourgeoisie. This broad stratum of the petty-bourgeoisie has influenced the whole development of China.”
(Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

In fact, Maoism is even not the ideology which liberates the poor peasants from their oppression and exploitation. The liberation of the poor peasants is **only** possible by means of the ideology of the revolutionary proletariat – as the closest ally of the world proletariat in its socialist world revolution.

In spite of this, the Colombian Maoists prefer to embrace their social-fascist ideology while affirming ridiculous things:

“The communist revolutionary party of Colombia must be independent in its ideology, objectives and organization. Its guide to action it is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. (...) Its point of view is that of the proletariat (...). It is not a multi-class party, but a party of the working class.” (Documents of the CWU, *Proyecto de Programa de la Unión Obrera Comunista (marxista leninista maoísta)*, September, 2010, translated from Spanish language)

Again, the same contradiction comes to light. It is impossible to simultaneously defend Maoist revisionism and the interests of the proletariat:

“ (...) there are some Maoists who proclaimed Mao Tsetung as a „classic of Marxism-Leninism“ and who declared the „Mao Tsetung Ideas“ as Marxism at the third and highest level“. There is a world movement which refers to the so-called „Marxism-Leninism-Maoism“. They claim to be anti-revisionist and defenders of Marxism-Leninism. The problem is the combination of Marxism-Leninism with Maoism. If the „MLM“ -ists defend Maoism, then they violate Marxism-Leninism. If they would defend Marxism-Leninism, they would violate Maoism.” (Documents of the Comintern (SH), *Neo-revisionism or Leninism?*, 2004, edition in English)

But in that affirmation from the Colombian Maoists, another awful lie must be noticed: their attempt to convince Colombian and world workers that they are not a bourgeois party. However, this kind of masquerade is condemned to fail because the most conscious proletarians know very well that an organization which follows Maoism is inevitably a bourgeois organization:

“Mao Tse-Tung (...) conceives the party as a union of classes with contradictory interests, as an organization in which two forces, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the «proletarian staff» and the «bourgeois staff», which must have their representatives from the grassroots to the highest leading organs of the party, confront and struggle against each other.” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

“The „Mao Tsetung Ideas“ contradict totally with the ideas of Leninism concerning the leadership of the Bolshevik party of Lenin`s type as it was defended and practiced by Stalin and Enver Hoxha. Mao Tse-Tung was not a defender of a proletarian class party and did not cling to the relationship between Bolshevik party and the class of the proletariat. (...) The Bolshevik party is formed as one mould and not the arena of different blocs of different class-elements. Mao Tsetung was neither willing nor able to take to heart the principles and standards of a Bolshevik party.” (Documents of the Comintern (SH), *Neo-revisionism or Leninism?*, 2004, edition in English)

Therefore, from the moment an organization like the CWU declares itself as Maoist, there can be no doubts that it is indeed a bourgeois organization, no matter the lies and the shibboleths the Colombian Maoists might use in order to hide this truth. And this applies also to any other Maoist party and organization around the world which pretends to be “an organization serving the workers” or “an exclusively proletarian party”. A Maoist organization is always and invariably a pro-capitalist organization due to the inherent origins of Maoist revisionism whose main purpose was to paralyze class struggle in China in benefit of the national bourgeoisie.

However, the fact that Maoism defends the interests of the national bourgeoisie does not in any case allow us to forget to mention its inestimable utility to the overall interests of the **world bourgeoisie**. Maoism is **a revisionist ideology on a world scale** and **in first line** an instrument of the **world bourgeoisie** to hinder the victory of the socialist world revolution and of the world proletariat!

And as if this was not enough, the Colombian Maoists even praise Mao’s social-fascist “New Democracy”:

“In 1948, there was the victory of the New Democracy Revolution, that is, the bourgeois-democratic revolution of a new type under the leadership of the proletariat and in alliance with the peasantry and the bourgeois democrats. In this manner, the People’s Republic of China was founded, and it aimed to revolutionarize China’s economic structure (...), thus moving towards socialism without having to go through a capitalist society of bourgeois dictatorship.” (Jaime Rangel, *El Marxismo-Leninismo-Maoismo, Ciencia de la Revolución Proletaria*, 1993, translated from Spanish language)

This statement would be laughable if it didn’t reveal the seriousness of Maoist reactionarism. The “New Democracy” is nothing more than a disguise used by the Chinese revisionists to hide the fact that the Chinese “Revolution” was completely pro-capitalist and controlled by the

bourgeoisie. In his book "Eurocommunism is anticommunism", comrade Enver genially revealed the truth behind Mao's "New Democracy" – and he did this using Mao's own words:

"Mao Zedong was for the unrestricted free development of capitalism in China in the period of the state of the type of «new democracy», as he called that regime which was to be established after the departure of the Japanese. At the 7th Congress of the CPC he said, «Some think that the communists are against the development of private initiative, against the development of private capital, against the protection of private property. In reality, this is not so. The task of the order of new democracy, which we are striving to establish, is precisely to ensure the possibility for broad circles of Chinese to freely develop their private initiative in society, to freely develop the private capitalist economy.» (Enver Hoxha, *Eurocommunism is Anti-communism*, Tirana, 1980, edition in English)

In face of the indisputable array of proofs and arguments put forward by comrade Enver, the Maoists in general and the Colombian Maoists in particular get desperate; they know that it will be just a matter of time until the world workers finally understand that Maoism means perpetuation of capitalism.

In Maoist "New Democracy", the national bourgeoisie continued to freely exploit the workers and peasants; indeed, it was deeply infiltrated within the ranks of the Chinese "Communist" Party since the very beginning. Well after 1949, when China was already supposedly "communist", the factory owners continued to extract huge profits from workers' and peasants exploitation. The affirmations of the Colombian Maoists that the "New Democracy" was "a revolution under the leadership of the proletariat" are ridiculous. Accordingly with the information provided by the famous bourgeois journalist Edgar Snow - who is considered to be an "expert" in Mao's China - in his book *Red China Today: The Other Side of the River*, the difference between the salary of a worker and the salary of an "administrator of public enterprises" in Maoist China was around 1 to 15 (from 20 to 300 yuans). And this difference could be even higher due to the supplementary revenues that were earned by many "party cadres" and "directors" (read: members of the Chinese national bourgeoisie). Furthermore, in Maoist "socialism", there was a thing called "state stock shares" whose purpose was to benefit the new bourgeoisie. In fact, nearly all the members of the national bourgeoisie who controlled the major means of production and occupied the highest positions within the "C" PC possessed vast amounts of those "state stock shares" and they took considerable profits from them. And this is what the Colombian Maoists call "revolutionarization of China's economic structure"!

In face of this, no wonder why the so-called "Western Marxists" like Edgar Snow loved and praised "Socialist" China so much. They did this because Mao's social-fascism corresponded exactly to their pro-capitalist dreams of a "socialist society" which would be free from what they called "Stalinist influences".

The wage differentials in Maoist China are significant enough to reflect the existence of capitalist relations of production based on workers' exploitation. What a contrast with what happened in socialist Albania, where the difference between the highest and lowest salaries was around 1:2 and if a worker was entitled to do a difficult or dangerous job, the salary of this worker could be as high as that of a minister. And this is not a mere hypothesis; indeed, this situation often occurred in Comrade Enver's Albania. Therefore, contrary to what happened in Maoist China, in Socialist Albania the differences between manual work and intellectual work were the lowest all over the world. It is important to note this, because the wage differentials in Maoist China are an irrefutable proof of how the treacherous "New Democracy" was under the complete domination of the bourgeoisie which successfully kept intact capitalist exploitative productive relations. Therefore, the claims of the Colombian Maoists that the "Revolution of New Democracy" was led by the proletariat are a total fake.

And the same can be said about their argument that Mao had allegedly "avoided" bourgeois

dictatorship, when the truth is that the rule of the Chinese revisionists since 1949 until today has always served the interests of the Chinese national bourgeoisie. Mao declared that the “New Democracy” was an alternative between bourgeois dictatorship and proletarian dictatorship, but this is a complete falsity. There are no “third alternatives”: from the moment Mao rejected proletarian dictatorship, he was automatically defending bourgeois dictatorship; because from the moment the Chinese national bourgeoisie continued to control the major means of production and to exercise its control over the oppressed masses, there can be no talk about “avoiding the bourgeois dictatorship”. The establishment of the proletarian dictatorship is the only manner to avoid the establishment of bourgeois dictatorship. Therefore, if we deny the first, we are inevitably supporting the second. This is like things are, whether you like it or not, “dear” Maoists!

Even more serious and grave are the direct attacks, insults and calumnies that the Colombian social-fascists launch against Comrade Enver Hoxha, the beloved 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism:

“The Marxist-Leninist movement still faces a deep crisis, which reached a critical point with the reactionary coup d’état in China after Mao’s death and with Enver Hoxha’s perfidious betrayal.” (Documents of the CWU, *Declaración del Movimiento Revolucionário Internacionalista*, March, 1984, translated from Spanish language)

When reading this, one gets impressed by the arrogance, presumption and demagoguery of the Maoists. Maoism is among the most disgusting and perverse ideologies ever invented by the world bourgeoisie. Maoism plays with the masses’ aspirations to socialism and communism in order to benefit the exploiting classes through “dressing” capitalism with “progressive” and even “socialistic” colors. Besides this, Maoist fascism opened the path to China’s ascension as a new imperialist superpower. And after all this, the Maoists even dare to qualify comrade Enver as “perfidious”!!!

Maoists tried in vain to reconcile Maoism with Marxism-Leninism, to absorb Marxism-Leninism by Maoism, to replace, to liquidate Marxism-Leninism through Maoism. We defend the merit of comrade Enver Hoxha, namely the necessary purification of the Marxism-Leninism from Maoist influence. Enver Hoxha prevented the deep crisis of the Marxist-Leninist Movement through his principled demarcation line against Maoism. Until today, the Maoists have never and nowhere proved their defamatory assertion (neither with practical nor with theoretical substance). This is expression of the deep crisis of the MLM. Their defeat is unavoidable as long as they try to merge Marxism-Leninism with neo-revisionism and in particular with Maoism. Those, who attack socialist Albania of comrade Enver Hoxha, attack also the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin. Without defending both the only socialist countries, the victory of the socialist world revolution and world socialism is impossible.

But let’s return to the anti-Hoxhaist deliriums of the Colombian Maoists:

“Revisionism in its dogmatic form continues to be a fierce enemy of revolutionary Maoism. This current, whose maximum expression can be found in the line of the PLA, attacks Maoism, the Chinese revolution and – above everything – the experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Under the guise of “defending Stalin” (when in truth many of their theses are Trotskyist), these revisionists destroy Stalin’s revolutionary legacy. (...).” (Documents of the CWU, *Declaración del Movimiento Revolucionário Internacionalista*, March, 1984, translated from Spanish language)

In first place, the MLM has never proved the “truth” that many of our theses would be allegedly “Trotskyist”.

However, we point at least to two counter-arguments:

1. Comrade Enver Hoxha has proved in “Reflections on China”, Volume II, that Mao had criticized the Stalinist line of the Comintern in the Chinese question which was – in the main - correct. Can the MLM explain the accordance of Mao's and Trotsky's criticism on the Stalinist line of the Comintern? (see: Trotsky: “The Chinese Question after the Sixth Congress ”).

2. A characteristic of Trotskyism is the “principle” of fractionism. While comrade Enver Hoxha defeated successfully the Trotskyist fractionism within the PLA, Mao – in a centristic manner - collected several “left” and right-wing fractions within the “C”PC with the purpose to maintain his leadership.

Furthermore, the Colombian Maoists don't hesitate before using the old trick of trying to depict the genuine revolutionaries as “dogmatics”. This tactic has been used by revisionists of all colors and tendencies in order to discredit the authentic Marxists-Leninists. One of the main “arguments” used by Khrushchev against comrade Stalin was precisely that Stalin was a “dogmatic”. And the Maoists follow the same pattern of their ideological mentor, also qualifying the veritable communists as “dogmatics”. Indeed, they do this while affirming to defend “Stalin's revolutionary legacy”! Such hypocrisy! The Maoists know very well that the glorious PLA led by comrade Enver Hoxha was the greatest disciple of comrade Stalin. On the contrary, comrade Stalin soon understood who Mao truly was:

“Since the beginning of the war, Stalin was very skeptical towards us. When we won the war, Stalin perceived our victory as being of the same kind of that of Tito, and in 1949 he exercised a very strong pression upon us.” (Mao Zedong, *Oeuvres choisies, Tome V*, translated from French language)

As can be concluded from this quotation, the Colombian Maoists are wasting their time pretending that they are defending Stalin against PLA's “dogmatism”. After all, it was Mao himself who admitted that comrade Stalin perceived the bourgeois character of the Chinese “revolution” and that its victory was contrary to the interests of socialism.

In what respects to the PLA's correct and consistent ideological line, the Colombian Maoists call it “Trotskyism”. This is nothing new. Since many years, the Maoists try to discredit the principled positions of the Albanian Marxists-Leninists as being “Trotskyist”. Such was the case, for example, of comrade Enver's fair criticisms against Nixon's visit to Maoist China in the early 70's. As an authentic Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist, comrade Enver clearly saw that to support Nixon's visit to China was synonym of betraying the world revolution and the principles of revolutionary communism. Nixon was the representative of the American imperialist plutocrats, he was one of the worst enemies of the world proletariat. Therefore, the PLA promptly criticized this visit and rightly qualified it as “treason”. Being a Marxist-Leninist party, the PLA could not have acted otherwise. Indeed, Nixon's visit to China was one of the episodes that made the Albanian Marxists-Leninists start wondering about Maoism's veritable ideological nature:

“When Nixon was invited to China, and the Chinese leadership, with Mao Tsetung at the head, proclaimed the policy of rapprochement and unity with American imperialism, it became clear that the Chinese line and policy were in total opposition to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Following this, China's chauvinist and hegemonic ambitions began to become clearer. The Chinese leadership started to oppose the revolutionary and liberation struggles of the peoples, the world proletariat, and the genuine Marxist-Leninist movement more openly.” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

In those times, the Maoists already qualified PLA's principled stand towards Nixon's visit to China as being “Trotskyist”. Indeed, if we notice the “arguments” used by the Maoists against the PLA and against comrade Enver, we will see that they are not in the least solid. The strategy used by Maoists is to repeatedly affirm that comrade Enver's PLA was “revisionist”, thus trying to inculcate this idea in the minds of the workers. However, the synthesis of the

Maoists' "attacks" and "criticisms" against the PLA is circumscribed to the fact that the Albanian Marxist-Leninists unmasked Mao. The Maoists call comrade Enver a "revisionist" because he denounced Mao's revisionism. Even today, the Maoists feel a deep anger towards the PLA because the Albanian Marxists-Leninists were the pioneers of the struggle against Maoism, because they were able to finally expose Maoist social-fascism. Until then, the Maoists had posed as "genuine Marxists", but after Comrade Enver's brilliant unmasking of Maoism, they were revealed as they truly are: pro-capitalists who – using some "anti-revisionist" slogans – do their utmost to strengthen imperialism and to prevent socialism:

"Previously, when Mao Zedong thought had not yet been openly exposed by our parties, the social-imperialists and imperialists were rather tranquil, because they thought that this revisionist current was working within us like a worm in an apple. Now, after our exposure of it, we see that they have increased their attacks upon us." (Enver Hoxha, *Only in struggle can Marxist-Leninist parties be strengthened and tempered and gain capability*, July, 1980, edition in English)

And relatively to the Maoists' affirmations that the PLA attacked the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution", we can only confirm them. Yes, of course the PLA attacked Mao's anarchistic "Cultural Revolution". Indeed, given the anti-communist and reactionary nature of that "Cultural Revolution", the Albanian Marxists-Leninists could not have acted differently:

"When we saw that this Cultural Revolution was not being led by the party but was a chaotic outburst following a call issued by Mao Tsetung, this did not seem to us to be a revolutionary stand. (...) The course of events showed that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was neither a revolution, nor great, nor cultural, and in particular, not in the least proletarian. It was a palace putsch on an all-China scale for the liquidation of a handful of reactionaries who had seized power." (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

After all this, we conclude that the Colombian Maoist organization CWU is a social-fascist organization whose aim is to spread and promote Maoist revisionism among the masses in order to prevent the outcome of the world socialist revolution. To do this, they use "Marxist" phraseology and they try to paint Maoism with somewhat "revolutionary" colors, but their attempts will undoubtedly fail. They say that "to defend Maoism is to defend Marxism-Leninism", but their false claims can be easily unmasked even through the most superficial analysis of Mao's Works and of Maoist China's realities.

In truth, the MLM – Colombia makes much noise of propaganda about the foundation of the **"Communist International"**, about the socialist world revolution, etc.... This is a heavy attack against the Comintern (SH) and should not be missed in our counter-attack against MLM Colombia!! Maoists are in words advocates of the Communist International, but in deeds, they are enemies of it, as can be proved by the hostile and treacherous actions of Mao against the decisions of the Comintern (see: Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China*, Volume II).

Very important are the attempts of the MLM – Colombia of playing a leading role within the Maoist world movement. They attack the revisionism of other Maoist organizations in the world with the only purpose to mask their own revisionism behind "principled ideology of MLM". Masking one's own revisionism by "criticizing" the revisionism of the others – this is typically for Maoism as can be seen by Mao's "criticism" on the Soviet-revisionism.

2.2 – Communist Party of Bolivia (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist)

Another Latin-American organization which also follows Maoist revisionism is the "Communist" Party of Bolivia - MLM (in Spanish: *Partido Comunista de Bolivia - Marxista Leninista Maoista*). The official site of this loathful party is full of praises to Mao's pro-capitalist ideology and in one occasion, the Bolivian Maoists make an astounding affirmation:

“The rightists inside the CPC deceived Mao and started a policy of approachment to American imperialism. (...). Mao, who was very sick, trusted them (...).” (http://maoistasbolivianos.blogspot.pt/2011_05_01_archive.html, May, 2011, translated from Spanish language)

Therefore, accordingly with the Bolivian Maoists, Mao had nothing to do with China's pro-American reactionary stance. It was all the rightists' fault, who perversely misled the poor and sick Mao, forcing him to receive Nixon and Kissinger. One might wonder how these “rightists” could oblige Mao to organize huge welcome ceremonies to receive the American imperialists, to appear to personally salute them and to make public statements supporting them against their main rival – Soviet social-imperialism. In face of this, we conclude that the ridiculous attempts of the Maoists to justify Mao's social-fascism and to present him as a “great revolutionary” know no limits.

And there is much more.

In the beginning of this article, we affirmed that Latin American Maoists are staunch defenders of Guevarism. And indeed, in a text entitled “Che, a friend of Mao”, the Bolivian Maoists declare that:

“This will certainly surprise many of you, but the truth is that Che Guevara saw China as an example to be followed and admired Mao Zedong very much.” (http://maoistasbolivianos.blogspot.pt/2011_03_01_archive.html, March, 2011, translated from Spanish language)

In first place, we must say that this does not surprise us, Stalinists-Hoxhaists, at all. It is quite normal and expectable that Che Guevara admired Maoist China. After all, both Che and Mao were bourgeois ideologues who tried to stop the revolutionary struggle of the world workers' through spreading pro-capitalist “theories” under the guise of “socialism”.

Che and Mao: two fierce enemies of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism and of the world socialist revolution - image published by the Bolivian Maoists in their site http://maoistasbolivianos.blogspot.pt/2011_03_01_archive.html

In his book “Imperialism and the Revolution”, comrade Enver states that:

“According to «Mao Tsetung thought», a new democratic regime can exist and socialism can be built only on the basis of the collaboration of all classes (...).” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

Just like Mao, Che Guevara also held idealist views which were centered around the same idea of “collaboration” between oppressors and oppressed. In 1965, while visiting Argelia, Che Guevara said that “the development of the liberated countries should be paid by the socialist camp”. Besides the fact that this statement is infinitely closer to Christian charity than to revolutionary Marxism and that the development of a certain country must be primarily accomplished by its own workers in the process of socialist construction, and not due to some “charitable help” from outside, we should also ask to what “socialist camp” Che Guevara was referring. In 1965, Khrushchev's treason was totally consummated. Soviet Union had been transformed into an imperialist superpower dominated by the new revisionist bourgeoisie which fiercely exploited the oppressed peoples. Therefore, Che Guevara wanted the social-fascist and capitalist Soviet Union to pay for “the development of the liberated countries”! This was completely impossible because social-imperialist Soviet Union had not the slightest interest in developing the semi-colonial oppressed countries. On the contrary, Soviet bourgeoisies did its utmost to keep those countries in state of bondage in order to exploit them more easily. But

Che's statement clearly reveals that he preached the "cooperation" between the exploited proletarians of the semi-colonial countries and the Soviet imperialist exploiters.

Thus, we see the striking similarities between Maoism and Guevarism in what respects to paralyze and deny the irreconcilable contradictions between exploited and exploiters in benefit of an alleged "cooperation" between them. Besides this, and also like happens with Mao, Guevara's image has long been a very profitable product in the hands of the capitalists who use it to promote the ideological corruption of the workers.

Furthermore, the Bolivian Maoists openly qualify Che Guevara as an "anti-revisionist" and as a "Marxist-Leninist". They state that both Mao and Che defend that the revolution must start in the countryside:

"Traditional Marxism predicted that revolution would start thanks to the urban proletariat (...). However, Mao noticed that this was not suitable to China's conditions, where the urban proletariat was extremely reduced (...). Mao based his victory on the peasantry and Che agreed with this view because he thought that this tactic was also the most adequate to Latin American circumstances."
(http://maoistasbolivianos.blogspot.pt/2011_03_01_archive.html, March, 2011, translated from Spanish language)

So, the Maoists happily affirm and confirm Che's and Mao's anti-socialist stands towards the urban proletariat and their revisionist belief in the "revolutionary hegemony of the countryside and of the peasants". The interesting thing is that they do this in a very proud tone, as if to hold this kind of degenerated pro-bourgeois stands is something heroic! Just note the manner in which they try to present Mao and Guevara as being ideologically superior to what they depreciatively qualify as "traditional Marxism"!

Accordingly with the Maoists, the "traditional Marxism" - which defends that the motive force of the revolution must always be the urban proletariat – is "surpassed" and "inferior", it is something only supported by the "dogmatists" who stubbornly refuse to accept the "innovations" produced by such "great Marxist-Leninists" as Mao and Che Guevara.

In the other parts of the DWM, we have already stressed countless times that the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism consider the leadership of the proletariat as an indispensable condition for the triumph of an authentic socialist revolution. We had also seen how Mao plainly denied this basic principle of communist ideology. Recalling comrade Enver's genial conclusions:

"(...) Mao was not a Marxist. According to him the leading force of the revolution is the peasantry, not the proletariat. (...) From a long time back we have not been in agreement with the views of Mao Tsetung, especially with his saying that «the countryside must encircle the city». We, as Marxist-Leninist, have never accepted this view of Mao Tsetung's because in this way Mao Tsetung considers the peasantry the most revolutionary class. This is an anti-Marxist view. The most revolutionary class of society is the proletariat, therefore it must lead the revolution in alliance with the peasantry, which is the most faithful ally of the proletariat." (Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China, Volume II*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

Maoism and Guevarism are among the most treacherous, deceitful and counter-revolutionary revisionist tendencies. A genuine Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist-Hoxhaist must combat and denounce them without mercy. A model of struggle against both Maoism and Guevarism was precisely comrade Enver, whose views on Che Guevara and on Guevarism we will equally recall:

"Who was Che Guevara? (...) He was a rebel, a revolutionary, but not a Marxist-Leninist as they try to present him. (...) His is a bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leftism, combined

with some ideas that were progressive, but also anarchist which, in the final analysis, lead to adventurism. (...) The views of Che Guevara and anyone else who poses as a Marxist and claims "paternity" of these ideas have never been or had anything to do with Marxism-Leninism. (...) What sort of Marxism-Leninism is this which advocates attacking the enemy, fighting it with these "wild" detachments, etc. without having a Marxist-Leninist party to lead the fight? There is nothing Marxist-Leninist about it. Such anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist theories can bring nothing but defeat for Marxism-Leninism and the revolution, as Che Guevara's undertaking in Bolivia did. (...) This trend brings the theses of the armed uprising into disrepute. What great damage it causes the revolution! With the killing of Guevara, the masses of common people, contaminated by the influences of these anarchist views, will think: "Now there is no one else to lead us, to liberate us!" Or perhaps a group of people with another Guevara will be set up again to take to the mountains to make the "revolution," and the masses, who expect a great deal from these individuals and are burning to fight the bourgeoisie, may be deceived into following them. And what will happen? Something that is clear to us. Since these people are not the vanguard of the working class, since they are not guided by the enlightening principles of Marxism-Leninism, they will encounter misunderstanding among the broad masses and sooner or later they will fail, but at the same time the genuine struggle will be discredited, because the masses will regard armed struggle with distrust." (Enver Hoxha, *The Fist of the Marxist-Leninist Communists Must Also Smash Left Adventurism, the Offspring of Modern Revisionism (From a conversation with two leaders of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of Ecuador)*, 21st October, 1968, edition in English)

These quotations from Enver were already used by us in other articles, but given the hysterical proportions that the "Guevaramania" reaches throughout the capitalist world and the explicit encouragement of it by the Maoists revisionists, it seems that they are never repeated frequently enough. The combat against Guevarist influences is very important and it undoubtedly constitutes one of the main demarcation lines between the Marxists-Leninist and the revisionists. When a party or even an individual claims to be Marxist-Leninist, one of the indicators that can be verified to conclude whether that qualification is accurate or not is precisely the stands that the party or the individual holds relatively to Che Guevara. If they denounce Che Guevara's revisionism and anti-Marxism basing themselves on Stalinist positions, then this is an important indicative sign that the party or the individual in question may be Marxist-Leninist (of course, to conclude this safely it is necessary to verify many other things besides the position towards Guevarism). On the contrary, if a party or an individual accepts and even praises Guevarism, then there is no need to search for nothing more; this suffices to prove their revisionist and counter-revolutionary character. Such is the case of the Maoists in general and of the Bolivian Maoists in particular (indeed, also the Communist Revolutionary Party of Argentina - another Latin-American Maoist organization - explicitly eulogizes Che Guevara's supposed "contributions to Marxism-Leninism" in its official site: <http://www.pcr.org.ar/nota/%C2%A1hasta-la-victoria-siempre-0>). Therefore, it is crystal clear that Guevarism is an ideological disease which is gladly supported and promoted by the Latin American Maoists with the objective of keeping the proletarians in bondage).

But the anti-communist perversity of the Maoists goes even further with their abhorrent praises of KimII Sungism and of the North Korean feudal-monarchic-fascist regime. In an unpalatable article entitled "Comrade Kim Jong Il has died", the Bolivian Maoists affirm:

"On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bolivia (MLM) (...) we want to express our condolences to the Workers' Party of Korea on occasion of the death of the great communist leader Kim Jong Il. (...) We are sure that the WPK and the revolutionary people of North Korea will continue the path of such heroic leaders as Kim Il Sung and Kim Jong Il."

(http://maoistasbolivianos.blogspot.pt/2011/12/normal-0-21-false-false-false_20.html, December, 2011, translated from Spanish language)

As can be seen, the Maoists don't have the slightest scruples about supporting such an horrendous bourgeois dictatorship as that of North Korea. But this is unsurprising. In fact, Maoism has everything in common with KimIlSungism, namely the pro-capitalist character of both these revisionist currents. The remarkable similarities between Maoism and KimIlSungism can be noted not only in the manner both defend the maintenance of the bourgeoisie as a class under "socialism", but also how KimIlSungism follows Maoism in its denial of the proletarian dictatorship and in its support for the infiltration and influence of bourgeois elements within the ranks of the "communist" party:

"Some think that only the Marxist-Leninists can adhere to the Workers' Party of Korea and that only the Marxists-Leninists can participate at the main present tasks. This is a very dangerous example of "left" opportunism. (...) It is a grave error to consider that only the Marxists-Leninists should be allowed to do those things. We consider that all those who display a vibrant energy and patriotic love towards the edification of a democratic nation and assume the role of vanguard can adhere to the WPK even if they are not Marxists-Leninists. Therefore, all those who – not only among the workers, but also among the peasants and the intellectuals – bravely struggle at the head of the masses can adhere to the WPK." (Kim Il Sung, *Oeuvres choisies*, Pyongyang, 1971, translated from French language)

This statement coming directly from Kim Il Sung is astoundingly revisionist and anti-socialist. Kim Il Sung and his successors are frequently hailed as "hard-line Marxists" and even "Stalinists". But this declaration completely negates this false image. What the social-fascist Kim Il Sung is affirming is that the "communist" party must be seen as a gigantic basket case where all (Marxist-Leninists and anti-Marxists-Leninists, proletarians and bourgeois) should be included. Of course, taking into account the fact that there was never socialism in North Korea and that the North Korean bourgeoisie continued to exploit Korean workers, it is easy to see that this "inclusion" of bourgeois elements means in fact their ideological predominance within the party, thus making the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship impossible.

Kim Il Sung and his descendants are a fascist family of the worst kind. They served and continue to serve the interests of the North Korean bourgeoisie, doing their utmost to prevent the construction of socialism in Korea. They couldn't care less about the fact that their reactionary and exploitative regime is based on the painful division of an entire people, since thanks to this division they can continue to live a lavish life in their magnificent palaces, where they have their eating tables full of delicious foods and their beds full of attractive mistresses. In order to perpetuate this state of things, they use their ultra-revisionist ideology to deceive the world workers in general and the Korean workers in particular. And these bandits are qualified by the Maoists as "great communist leaders". A party who qualifies the North Korean capitalist tyranny as "socialist" is totally submerged in the darkest reactionary waters, it is a rabid enemy of the world proletariat and of all oppressed and exploited masses. Such is the case of the Bolivian Maoists and of their "Communist" Party of Bolivia ("ML" M).

2.3 - Communist Party of Peru (Marxist-Leninist) and Communist Party of Panama (Marxist-Leninist)

The "Communist" Party of Peru – "ML" (in Spanish: *Partido Comunista del Peru – Marxista-Leninista*) is another example of how Maoist Revisionism constitutes a serious obstacle to the development of socialist revolution in Latin America and to the acquisition of a genuine proletarian conscience by the exploited Latin American workers. After all, we cannot forget that the Peruvian Maoists have a long revisionist tradition of misleading the exploited working masses and of harshly repressing them in the name of "communism" [in the second part of the DWM, we had already analyzed the ideology, activities and purposes of the Peruvian Shinning Path, a bourgeois-terrorist group led by the pro-capitalist "President Gonzalo". The "Shinning Path" is the ideological antecessor of the current "C"PP ("ML")].

In the newsletter of the infamous neo-revisionist and pro-Maoist “International Conference of Marxist- Leninist Parties and Organizations (ICMLPO)”, the leaders of the “C”PP openly admit their depraved social-democratic and reformist stands. In their “country report”, the Peruvian Maoists try to mislead the workers by launching some demagogical “attacks” against the “right-wing reactionaries”, claiming that Peru is becoming an “American colony” (like nearly all Latin-American revisionists, the Peruvian Maoists continue to present American imperialism as being the only enemy while ignoring the emergent imperialisms like the Brazilian one, for instance). It is curious to note that they mention the “compradore bourgeoisie at the service of US imperialism”, but they do not say a word about the struggle against the “progressive” and “nationalistic” Peruvian bourgeoisie. This is easy to explain because Maoism was conceived precisely to benefit the interests of the Chinese national bourgeoisie, and – in the same manner - Maoist parties around the world are also instruments serving the interests of the national bourgeoisies of their respective countries in particular, and those of the world bourgeoisie in general. Indeed, the Peruvian Maoists angrily declare that the maintenance in power of Alan Garcia (the representative of the pro-American compradore bourgeoisie) prevented “the victory of the progressive and nationalist forces”. Therefore, what the Peruvian Maoists truly want is the victory of the “patriotic” section of the Peruvian bourgeoisie which would continue the exploitation of the Peruvian proletariat in a “civilized” and even “progressive” manner. In fact, their ridiculous attempts to hide behind “Marxist-Leninists” slogans are completely denied by their ultra-reformist “popular demands”:

“The coordination and the treaty of unity in action, which we have achieved with some organizations with nationalistic and indigenous tendency, is a first step. It is only a small one, but it has to be strengthened with utmost initiative. This is our concrete political orientation. For this we propose the following platform of struggle and unity to the workers and the people:

- **End neoliberal economic policy**
- **Announce a break in foreign debt payments and demand their annulment**
- **Annul those treaties for handing over and "selling" public enterprises, the sources of income and the raw materials, which have been negotiated with the monopolies and the transnational firms**
- **Fundamental tax-reform with the direct taxes as a basis. Those who earn the most, pay the most. Abolition of the tax privileges granted to the big monopoly enterprises.”** (ICMLPO, *International Newsletter*, nº 33, July, 2007, edition in English)

Primarily, Peruvian Maoists do not utter a word about the necessity of eliminate private property. On the contrary, Marxist-Leninists demand for the revolutionary **abolition of the private property**. Those who do not propagate and fight for the socialization of private property by the socialist revolution cannot be true communists.

Moreover, after having praised and encouraged an opportunistic union with the “nationalist and indigenous tendency”, the Peruvian Maoists demand:

- **The end of neoliberalism** – a totally revisionist demand. Neoliberalism is just one of the forms that capitalism can assume. We, Stalinists-Hoxhaists, are against capitalism as a whole, and not just against one of its multiple forms. Neoliberalism is usually preferred by the pro-imperialist bourgeoisies of the compradore type, while state capitalism is usually preferred by the “progressive” and “anti-imperialist” sections of the national bourgeoisies. As the Peruvian Maoists are defending these last ones, it is easy to understand the meaning of their anger against neoliberalism. They do not want the abolishment of capitalism, they only want the adoption of another form of it which is more suitable and adequate to the interests of the Peruvian national bourgeoisie. In present times of globalized development of productive forces it is in the interest of the world proletariat to struggle for a world-socialist economic system - everything else is retrograde and reactionary.

- **Announce a break in foreign debt payments and demand their annulment** – this demand might sound appellative at first sight, but if we pay more attention to it, we will conclude that it is also opportunist. Foreign debts will always exist as long as capitalist exploitative system exists. Consequently, the only manner to definitively eliminate these debts is to annihilate capitalism. However, since the moment they adopt Maoism as their official ideology, the social-fascists of the “C”PP are automatically embracing the perpetuation of that same capitalism and are making the extinction of foreign debts impossible.

- **Annul those treaties for handing over and "selling" public enterprises, the sources of income and the raw materials, which have been negotiated with the monopolies and the transnational firms** – right, the Peruvian Maoists want to prevent the control of the country's main resources and means of production by the bourgeoisie compradore in order to facilitate their handing to the national bourgeoisie under state capitalist forms which will permit the continuation of the exploitation of the Peruvian workers under “socialistic” cloaks.

- **Fundamental tax-reform with the direct taxes as a basis. Those who earn the most, pay the most. Abolition of the tax privileges granted to the big monopoly enterprises** - this demand from the Peruvian Maoists is truly amazing. They sound exactly like the bourgeois politicians who defend the ignominious “welfare-state”. If they were authentic Marxists-Leninists, they would demand the abolition of the entire tax system, they would demand the annihilation of all forms of exploitation. But as they are nothing more than bourgeois social-democrats, they preach the “abolition of the tax privileges granted to the big monopolies” and that “those who earn the most, pay the most” in order to alienate the proletarians, because the adoption of this kind of “welfare-state measures” contributes to hide the class character of the capitalist state, thus turning the acquisition of a communist conscience by the workers much more difficult – all this without touching the capitalists' superprofits.

And there is more. The Peruvian Maoists go further with their pro-capitalist “demands”:

“- **Directives on raising wages or income for the active workers, as well as for those without work and retired people. Rehiring of the dismissed workers.**

- **Introduction of a universal, obligatory, mutually supportive system of social insurance.**

- **Reinstallment of an educational system which is free of charge for all stages and qualifications, development of educational personnel and educational policy (...).**

- **Promotion of the reorganization and democratization of the armed forces, with the aim of transforming them into a useful instrument for the economic and social development in the country and for defending national sovereignty and territorial integrity.**

- **Convening a constitutional assembly aimed at setting up a new, democratic, patriotic, decentralized and socially just assembly.**

The political orientation which we propose are concrete tactics to achieve the broadest accumulation of political and social forces, (...) to further develop the political awareness of the masses and to create the best possible objective and subjective conditions and to lead the people to a peoples' rebellion within a short or medium term period of time. This will prepare the way for a democratic peoples' government and to abolish the neoliberal program with its consequences and so to put an end to the period marked by neoliberal colonialism (...).” (ICMLPO, *International Newsletter*, n° 33, July, 2007, edition in English)

The first three demands are typically social-democratic. Things like “directives on raising wages”, the “free educational system” and the “mutually supportive social insurance” could have been proposed by some social-bourgeois party seating in the European Parliament. But no! They were proposed by the Maoists, who dare to qualify themselves as the “highest representatives of Marxism-Leninism”.

As for the “democratization of the armed forces”, the Peruvian Maoists follow the same line of the infamous Carrillo - one of the founders of Eurocommunism - who also said that the Spanish army (one of the main supporters of Franco’s pro-nazi regime) would become a “progressive force in society”. All Marxists-Leninists know that the capitalist army is one of the most reactionary and staunch defenders of the exploitative order, they know that it is not possible to “democratize” it or to transform it into “an instrument for the social development of the country”, as the Peruvian Maoists pretend. Within the framework of a capitalist system like that which dominates Peru, the army is inevitably and invariably a counter-revolutionary weapon in the hands of the capitalists and imperialists who use it to bloody repress Peruvian workers. With the exception of the proletarian armies which emerge within the scope of an authentically socialist society, all armies are noxious to the cause of the proletariat and therefore they must be implacably smashed and destroyed. There is no other way to remove the immense danger that bourgeois-capitalist armies - like that of Peru - represent to workers’ liberation. As comrade Enver correctly affirmed:

“The principles, laws and organizational structures in the bourgeois armies are such that they allow the bourgeoisie to exert control over the army, to maintain and train it as a means to suppress the revolution and the peoples. This shows the markedly reactionary class character of the bourgeois army and exposes the efforts to present it as «above classes», «national», «outside politics», «respecting democracy», etc. Regardless of the «democratic traditions », the bourgeois army in any country is anti-popular and destined to defend the rule of the bourgeoisie and to carry out its expansionist aims.” (Enver Hoxha, *Eurocommunism is Anti-communism*, Tirana, 1980, edition in English)

And the claims of the Peruvian Maoists of aiming at a “socially just assembly” and of wanting to “further develop the political awareness of the masses to lead the people to a peoples’ rebellion within a short or medium term period of time” can only be qualified as a total masquerade. A socially just assembly? Can anything related with capitalism be just? Of course not. The Peruvian Maoists do their utmost to preserve capitalism. They may prefer state capitalism to neoliberal capitalism, but in the end everything remains the same: it is still capitalism, it is still exploitation and oppression. Thus, their ridiculous talk about a “socially just assembly” will never deceive the revolutionary workers. And as if this was not enough, they even affirm that their “political orientation” is developing “the political awareness of the masses”. What?! They call a bunch of reformist, social-democratic demands as “development of the political awareness of the masses”? Quite on the contrary, the purpose of the Peruvian Maoists is precisely to conceal the class character of the capitalist state through the adoption of some pro-welfare state measures which will spread illusions among the workers and which will detach them from the communist struggle for the violent overthrow of the capitalist state. Indeed, the so-called “people’s rebellion” that the Peruvian Maoists arrogantly pretend to be leading “within a short or medium period of time” is nothing more than the replacement of the pro-imperialist and compradore section of the Peruvian bourgeoisie by the “progressive” Peruvian national bourgeoisie. The same can be said about the Peruvian Maoists’ “intentions” of putting “an end to the period marked by neoliberal colonialism”. They want to end “neoliberal colonialism” only to allow the ascension of the “patriotic” section of the Peruvian bourgeoisie which will continue sucking the blood and sweat of the Peruvian proletariat. Indeed, this is what the Maoists really want: a “perfect” capitalism using a “socialist” mask in which there will be no class struggle, thus permitting the eternal exploitation of the workers.

And the situation is the same with the “Communist” Party of Panama – “ML” (in Spanish: *Partido Comunista de Panama – Marxista-Leninista*):

“We urgently call for joining the different struggle fronts of the masses to a united revolutionary people’s movement on a massive scale to achieve democracy, (...) a Democratic Republic which is carried and surrounded by organizations of the people.” (ICMLPO, *International Newsletter*, n° 33, July, 2007, edition in English)

Just like all the other Latin American Maoists, also the Panamanian Maoists deny the necessity of the proletarian dictatorship, replacing it by a “Democratic Republic” composed by multiple “struggle fronts of the masses”. It is obvious that these various “fronts of the masses” mean that the hateful “Democratic

Republic” proposed by the Panamanian Maoists is nothing more than a disguised form of Mao’s “New Democracy”, that is, a bourgeois-capitalist oppressive dictatorship which tries to mislead the workers, giving them the false impression that the exploiters are “sharing power” with them while moving towards “socialism”. But these attempts by the Panamanian Maoists to detach the workers from the path of the violent proletarian dominion, from the path of genuine socialism will never be successful. When the world socialist revolution finally comes, the end of the Maoists will be as horrible and loathful as their own social-fascist nauseating ideology. The infuriated world proletariat will literally tear them into pieces, thus giving to these pro-capitalist charlatans the treatment they fully deserve.

2.4 - Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and Revolutionary Communist Party of the USA

Finally, before finishing our analysis of the Maoist organizations in the American continent, we will examine a very relevant document which was published by two Maoist parties: the Revolutionary “Communist” Party of Chile (in Spanish: *Partido Comunista Revolucionario de Chile*) and the Revolutionary “Communist” Party of the USA. This joint document is treacherously entitled “Fundamental principles to achieve the unity of the Marxists-Leninists and of the International Communist Movement’s ideological line” and we decided to study it because it contains some of worst attacks ever made by the Maoists against the glorious Marxist-Leninist line of comrade Enver Hoxha and of the PLA. In fact, this is nothing astonishing because both parties are social-fascist to the bone. The “Revolutionary Communist” Party of the USA is even the party of the infamous ultra-revisionist Bob Avakian, who exercised and continues to exercise growing influence in the Maoist World Movement (<http://www.rwor.org/a/ideology/mlm.htm>).

In 1990, Bob Avakian wrote a text entitled “Our Ideology is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism”, of which we will emphasize ten items of criticisms:

1. Bob Avakian denies the class-character of the Bolshevik principle of criticism and self-criticism. He says: “It serves the people”. However, he does not say that it can only serve the people as an instrument in the hands of the proletariat and its communist party.
2. Bob Avakian speaks much about the revolution as a kind of anarchist “rebellion against oppression”: “Marxism is the doctrine of rebellion.” However, he keeps silence on the necessity of the armed destruction of the dictatorship of the world bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the world proletariat, on the construction of world socialism.
3. Bob Avakian says: “To give a basic answer to the first question--what is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism?--we can turn to the statement by Mao: 'It is right to rebel against reactionaries'.” However, this is not at all the basic answer of what Marxism-Leninism really is: Marxism-Leninism is the victorious ideology of the world proletariat, is the guidance for the socialist world revolution, is the revolutionary weapon in the hands of the invincible army of genuine communists who guide the proletariat and all oppressed towards destruction of the capitalist world and creation of the new world of socialism. Marxism-Leninism is the teaching of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism: Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha.
4. Bob Avakian says: “The guiding principle we Maoists live by is to *serve the people*.” We Stalinist-Hoxhaists say: The guiding principle of Marxism-Leninism is serving the class of the world proletariat. The politics of the masses must be guided by the world proletariat and the Communist International (Stalinist-Hoxhaists), everything else is anarchism, revisionism – whatever you like, but not Marxism-Leninism.
5. Bob Avakian defends the social fascist Chinese system which was created by Mao.

6. Bob Avakian defends the “Theory of the Three Worlds”.

7. Bob Avakian praises that Mao's China would have allegedly prevented capitalist restoration. However, the truth is that China was never socialist, and thus capitalist restoration – as happened in the Soviet Union and Albania – could not at all have been “prevented” in China. Bob Avakian defends Mao against Deng Hsiao Peng, but it was Mao himself who rehabilitated him! Bob Avakian speaks about the “overthrow” of Mao's “socialism”, but the truth is that the “Mao Testung- Thoughts” had been the basis of the revisionist-capitalist development of China.

8. Bob Avakian calls Marxism-Leninism-Maoism allegedly the ideology of the international proletariat. He stresses the word “today” which means that Mao would have developed Marxism-Leninism from a “European ideology” to an international one. Marxism-Leninism was always the ideology of the world proletariat, whereas Maoism is the ideology of the world bourgeoisie.

9. Bob Avakian says: “It is necessary to unite with the Black petty bourgeoisie and as far as possible with the Black bourgeoisie” - this sentence must not be commented, it unmasks itself.

10. Bob Avakian says: “Mao upheld and applied the communist viewpoint farther in theory and in practice than had previously been done in the experience of socialist countries.” This is not true. In the contrary: Mao has never upheld and applied the communist viewpoint. He neglected the experience of the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin, he replaced these experiences of Marxism-Leninism by revisionism.

The social-fascist and ultra-revisionist character of Bob Avakian's “theories” is so obvious that it is even discredited among Maoists themselves:

“(...) we need to criticize incorrect understandings entrenched in Avakian's new synthesis. But that is only the start. This is a process that will deepen only as we will learn more by doing more. In sum: The RCP's current path and methods have not worked and will not work. Its recent strategic turn is indifferent to the lessons of its own practice (...)

It was a promising thing in the late 1980s, when the RCP raised to itself the importance of “coming from within.” And yet the party's overall method repeatedly thwarted that process. The party's work has remained a series of “forays” — constantly reapproaching people “from without,” as if they are some unexplored territory. Over and over, the party would pull back without real roots or networks, only to sally out again in some new direction with new hopes and schemes.” (Mike Ely - mikeely.wordpress.com., *Nine Letters To Our Comrades*, December, 2007, edition in English)

Of course, the Maoists who “criticize” Avakian are only afraid that his openly reformist ideas finally reveal Maoism's true anti-socialist purposes to the working classes.

Anyway, the pro-capitalist character of the “RC”PUSA has been denounced by the genuine Marxists-Leninists since many years:

“The truth is that Chinese revisionism, which was corroding the Communist Party of China from within, has also long propped up, financed, bribed and danced quadrilles around almost all the opportunist trends in the American “left” movement. It has sought to subvert the powerful movement against modern revisionism, to divert what it could into the path of support for Chinese revisionist ambitions and to smash the rest of the movement. To this end, it has used the mainstream of neo-revisionism as its special agency, in particular, the Klonskyite October League, now calling itself the “Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist)”; the Revolutionary Union, now calling itself the “Revolutionary Communist Party, USA”; and a host of smaller imitators and competitors.” (Documents of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement of comrade Enver Hoxha, *U.S. Neo-Revisionism as the American Expression of the International Opportunist Trend of*

But let's return to the analysis of the joint document "Fundamental principles to achieve the unity of the Marxists-Leninists and of the International Communist Movement's ideological line". In this document, we find a compilation of the deceitful slanders invented by the Maoists to discredit Hoxhaist ideology and experience.

One of the first things we note when we observe the document is the shameless defense of Maoist revisionism. Indeed, the iniquitous slogan "Long live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism" is written in nearly every page of the document, turning obvious that both the "RC"PC and the "RC"PUA are anti-socialist parties completely submerged in Maoist reactionarism.

But – as we had already affirmed – the most relevant aspect of the document in question is the false attacks launched against comrade Enver and the PLA. The Chilean and American Maoists affirm that:

"The PLA and its leaders surrendered to revisionism. After the counter-revolutionary coup d'état in China, they attracted some revolutionaries because they were opposed to the clique of Teng Siao-ping (...). However, (...) the leaders of the PLA adopted Trotskyist positions about many questions, (...) excluding people's war as a form of revolutionary struggle, etc..." (Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and Revolutionary Communist Party of the USA, *Principios Fundamentales para la Unidad de los Marxistas-Leninistas y para la Línea del Movimiento Comunista Internacional*, 1980, translated from Spanish language)

First of all, we must realize that when the Maoists say that the PLA "surrendered to revisionism" this means just one thing: that the PLA denounced the bourgeois-capitalist nature of Maoism. Accordingly with the Maoists, the fact that the PLA unmasked Maoism and exposed its social-fascist character is synonym of "becoming revisionist". This is nothing surprising. Until the Sino-Albanian split and the subsequent denouncement of Chinese revisionism in general and of Maoism in particular, the Maoists posed as "faithful Marxists", as the "defenders of the truly communist line". But after those events, they had been completely unmasked. The Albanian Marxists-Leninists, the most loyal supporters and continuers of the Stalinist line, had finally understood the true purpose of Maoism. Therefore, the Maoists needed desperately to fabricate a tactic to discredit PLA's accurate stands in front of the toiling masses. In order to accomplish this, the Maoists started to qualify the PLA and comrade Enver as "revisionist" for the simple reason that they had correctly exposed Maoism. They even dare to call comrade Enver a "trotskyist" because he would be against the so-called "people's wars". But this is not true. Comrade Enver always defended that the oppressed peoples should liberate themselves from both the internal and external exploiters through armed force. However, Comrade Enver had no illusions relatively to the true nature of the Maoists' "people's wars" (like those of Peru or Nepal, for instance). Enver knew very well that the Maoist "peoples' wars" deny the most basic Marxist-Leninist principles (like that of the hegemony of the proletariat). He also knew that if the Maoist organizations which lead those "people's wars" manage to achieve power, that would not mean a victory for socialism due to the bourgeois character of the Maoist ideology. As we, Stalinists-Hoxhaists, clearly understand:

"Mao Tsetung gave special prominence to the military politics and army. However the guns themselves are not a circumstantial evidence for a revolutionary „people's war" - as proclaimed by numerous armed Maoist organizations all over the world. That looks and sounds very „revolutionary", but is that really true? Lenin always proclaimed the hegemony of the proletariat as the only revolutionary class who leads the armed struggle – and this concerns particularly the strategy and tactics if the revolutionary people's war. The theory of the people's war is a theory from Lenin. The „Mao Tsetung Ideas" („encircle and conquer the towns from the side of the villages" - proletarian revolution in words and peasant-revolution in deeds!) are contrary to the Leninist dialectical theory of the proletarian revolution (peasantry as the most important ally under the proletarian leadership)." (Documents of the Comintern (SH), *Neo-revisionism or Leninism?*, 2004, edition in English)

Consequently, we see that – once again – the veritable reason behind the qualification of Enver

as “trotskyist” by the Maoists resides in his brave exposure of Maoist social-fascism. The Maoists try to depict the true revolutionaries as “revisionists” and “trotskyists” in order to hide their own pro-capitalist purposes.

The revisionist parties, the lackeys of the Soviet revisionists, were once blaming comrade Enver Hoxha and the PLA as “Trotskyites” with the “argument” that the Albanians would have allegedly damaged the unity of the Communist World Movement.

The Maoists of today use the same accusations of “Trotskyism” which the Soviet revisionists and their lackeys have used against comrade Enver Hoxha and the PLA - namely that the Albanians would have allegedly damaged the unity of the Communist World Movement. In truth, Comrade Enver Hoxha defended Marxism-Leninism and the Communist World Movement bravely against the Soviet revisionists and against the Chinese revisionists who are the real enemies of Marxism-Leninism and the Communist World Movement!

Defending Marxism-Leninism and the Communist World Movement against Maoism is not “Trotskyist” but Hoxhaist. Hoxhaism is the invincible weapon in the war against Maoism.

And the Chilean and American Maoists continue with their anti-communist fever:

“Enver Hoxha erases the differences that exist between the various types of countries – the colonial and dependent, on one side and the imperialists, on the other side – and the differences that exist between two different types of revolution: the democratic anti-imperialist revolution and the socialist revolution. (...) this can only lead to grave errors because in the colonial and semi-colonial countries the revolution has a (...) democratic character, while in the imperialist countries the revolution (...) has to be proletarian and socialist.” (Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and Revolutionary Communist Party of the USA, *Principios Fundamentales para la Unidad de los Marxistas-Leninistas y para la Línea del Movimiento Comunista Internacional*, 1980, translated from Spanish language)

This statement is very interesting because the “leftist” section of the Maoist movement tries to present the “three world theory” as an invention of what they call “Chinese revisionists” (the ideological continuers of Mao). Besides the fact that this is a total lie – the “three world theory” was used by the Chinese bourgeois government since 1971 and was explicitly approved by Mao himself – it is amazing to observe that also the mentioned “leftist” and “orthodox” section of the Maoist movement assumes its adherence to the ultra-reactionary “three world theory”. In fact, when they accuse comrade Enver of erasing “the differences that exist between the various types of countries – the colonial and dependent, on one side and the imperialists, on the other side”, they are denying the Leninist principle which teaches that the world is divided only in two: the socialist world and the capitalist world. Comrade Enver was always a firm defender of this Leninist teaching and that’s why the Maoists criticize him (of course, there are contradictions between the capitalist countries, but this does not justify their division in two separate categories. Countries like Zaire or Nigeria are semi-colonial and dependent nations, while countries like the USA are imperialist nations. However, this does not exclude the fact that they are all capitalist countries).

In what respects to the Maoists’ claim that Enver would supposedly “erase the differences that exist between two different types of revolution: the democratic anti-imperialist revolution and the socialist revolution”, this false accusation doesn’t hold water. Comrade Enver understood very well that a democratic anti-imperialist revolution is something different from a socialist revolution, as can be proved through a quotation taken from his book “Imperialism and Revolution”:

“The Marxist-Leninist parties have as their aim the overthrow of the capitalist order and the triumph of socialism, whereas, when the revolution in their country is confronted with tasks of a democratic and anti-imperialist character, they aim to develop it unceasingly, to raise it to a socialist revolution, to go over as quickly as possible to the

fulfillment of socialist tasks.” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

The Maoists insinuate that Comrade Enver confounded both types of revolutions but this is not true. What really upsets the Maoists is that - contrary to Mao - comrade Enver always defended that the democratic/anti-imperialist revolutions cannot stand still, and that they have to be transformed into socialist revolutions:

“Mao Tsetung was never able to understand and explain correctly the close links between the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the proletarian revolution. Contrary to the Marxist-Leninist theory, which has proved scientifically that there is no Chinese wall between the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, that these two revolutions do not have to be divided from each other by a long period of time, Mao Tsetung asserted: «The transformation of our revolution into socialist revolution is a matter of the future... As to when the transition will take place, it may take quite a long time. We should not hold forth about this transition until all the necessary political and economic conditions are present and until it is advantageous and not detrimental to the overwhelming majority of our people». Mao Tsetung adhered to this anti-Marxist concept, which is not for the transformation of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into socialist revolution (...).” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

Enver's position is correct and Marxist-Leninist. On the contrary, Mao's positions are revisionist and pro-capitalist:

“Mao Tsetung was not able to differ and combine the bourgeois-democratic revolution with the proletarian revolution because he did not understand the coherency which Lenin demonstrated masterly in theory and practice. This was the reason why Mao Tsetung was not able to lead over to the proletarian revolution.” (Documents of the Comintern (SH), *Neo-revisionism or Leninism?*, 2004, edition in English)

Using the excuse of “not skipping stages” and of “the necessity of distinguishing between the democratic/anti-imperialist revolution and the socialist revolution”, the Maoists paralyze the revolutionary movement, they prevent the transformation of the democratic/anti-imperialist revolution into a socialist revolution by eternally postponing it, thus permitting the free development of bourgeois and capitalist relations and elements. In order to disguise this ultra-reactionary position, the Maoists make some empty affirmations about the “proletarian and socialist character” of the revolution in imperialist countries, but this is just empty talk. The truth is that Maoist ideology as a whole is conceived to prevent the coming of socialism. It is not by chance that we, Stalinists-Hoxhaists, say that Maoism is a bourgeois and pro-capitalist ideology. The aim of the Maoists is really to preserve capitalism and imperialism under fake “socialistic” cloaks.

And there is more:

“The Albanian leaders (...) affirm that the proletariat of Western Europe has to “defend the independence and sovereignty of its countries” and (...) they think that this struggle should be directed against American imperialism and not against the USSR (...). Here, the PLA is adopting a very wrong position proposed by Stalin after the Second World War: that the bourgeois in the imperialist countries had rejected the banner of independence and sovereignty and that – in face of this – it was the duty of the communist parties to erect this banner (...).”(Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and Revolutionary Communist Party of the USA, *Principios Fundamentales para la Unidad de los Marxistas-Leninistas y para la Línea del Movimiento Comunista Internacional*, 1980, translated from Spanish language)

First of all, it is a lie to affirm that the Albanian Marxists-Leninists only defended the struggle against American imperialism while neglecting the struggle against Soviet social-imperialism. Comrade Enver always understood quite clearly that it was necessary to combat both superpowers and never neglected the danger represented by Soviet revisionist imperialism:

“Brezhnev went to and returned from the United States of America. His talks with Nixon were very cordial and spectacular. (...) As his dowry, Brezhnev took to Nixon the wealth of the Soviet Union, the land, political freedom, sovereignty and prestige of the Soviet Union, in return for a handful of dollars. (...) And what was the reason for this scandalous abasement? To seek dollars, and with these dollars, which are dripping with blood, to buy advanced American technology, and at the same time, to find a market to sell the wealth of the Soviet people to the American multimillionaires. (...) «the clever but silent politicians» pose as if they understand everything, and do not fail to say openly and publicly: «The Soviet revisionists are more dangerous than the American imperialists». Why is it necessary to discuss who is the more dangerous, when the two are equally savage enemies of the peoples, of their freedom, independence, and sovereignty?!” (Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China, Volume II*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

“Soviet revisionism has been and still is the most dangerous current of modern revisionism. (...) it retains its socialist disguise and Leninist phraseology in order to cover up the present-day capitalist reality of the Soviet Union and its aggressive imperialist foreign policy. It is a revisionism which has seized power in a state which is a great power and has ample means and possibilities to exert its influence in the world, to operate in many directions and on a large scale.” (Enver Hoxha, *Report to the VIII Congress of the PLA*, November, 1981, edition in English)

On the contrary, Mao openly supported a policy of capitulations and alliances towards American imperialism precisely under the excuse of “struggling against Soviet social-imperialism”. He was never able to hold the correct revolutionary positions of Comrade Enver, who struggled against both American imperialism and against Soviet social-imperialism.

And the Maoists also accuse the PLA of “dogmatism” because it followed what they call the “erroneous positions of Stalin” (as revisionists, the Maoists don’t lose a single opportunity to slander comrade Stalin) relatively to the question of national independence and sovereignty. In truth, Comrade Stalin’s positions are correct. After the Second World War, American imperialism was invading the Western European nations through “aids” and “credits” whose objective was to prevent the implementation of proletarian dictatorships in those countries. Therefore, when saying that the communist parties and the proletarians of Western Europe must erect the banner of national independence and sovereignty, comrade Stalin meant that those communist parties and proletarians must struggle for socialism, because the establishment of a socialist society is the only manner to grant genuine national independence and sovereignty against all kinds of imperialism (we have to remember that comrade Stalin affirmed this during the first stage of socialism, during the epoch of socialism “in one country”).

Following this line, also the Albanian Marxists-Leninists knew that socialism is the only way to effectively struggle for genuine independence and sovereignty:

“Lenin teaches us that the revolution must be carried through to the end, by liquidating the bourgeoisie and its state power. Only on this basis can there be talk of true freedom, independence and sovereignty.” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

Therefore, the accusations of the Maoists that the Albanian Marxists-Leninists had “fervently defended Stalin’s serious mistakes” are totally phony. Neither comrade Stalin nor comrade Enver committed any mistakes. Indeed, the Maoist social-fascists are the ones who must be

sternly condemned because they deny that socialism can avoid the inevitability of imperialism.

Continuing:

“The Albanian leaders have a tendency to neglect the rivalries that exist between USA and the Soviet Union, thus neglecting also the danger of a world war. (...) In his book “Imperialism and Revolution”, Enver Hoxha even affirms that the danger of an armed conflict with Soviet Union is now less intense.” (Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and Revolutionary Communist Party of the USA, *Principios Fundamentales para la Unidad de los Marxistas-Leninistas y para la Línea del Movimiento Comunista Internacional*, 1980, translated from Spanish language)

Relatively to this statement, we should note that the Chilean and American Maoists who wrote the document use Enver's book “Imperialism and Revolution” to allegedly “prove” their calumnious affirmations. However, we searched the mentioned book in its entirety and we could not find a single place where comrade Enver denies or minimizes the danger of a new world war. On the contrary, Enver states that:

“American imperialism is striving to get its hooks ever more deeply implanted into the economies of other peoples, while Soviet social-imperialism, which has just begun to spread its claws, is trying to drive them into various countries of the world in order to create and to consolidate its own neo-colonialist and imperialist positions. But there is also the «United Europe», linked with the United States of America through NATO, which has individual, not concentrated imperialist tendencies. On the other hand, China, too, has joined in the dance in its endeavors to become a superpower, as well as Japanese militarism which has risen to its feet. These two imperialisms are linking themselves in an alliance in order to form an imperialist power opposed to the others. In these conditions, the great danger of world war is increased.” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

In face of this, we see that Maoists don't hesitate in lying directly, affirming that comrade Enver defended a certain position when in reality he defended the opposite one.

They also dare to accuse the Albanian Marxists-Leninists of “making an erroneous analysis about the origins and character of revisionism”, affirming this with the aim of discrediting Hoxhaism, because this is the only ideology capable of destroying their falsehoods and slanders and of leading the world proletariat towards world socialism and world communism.

And today we must talk about the Chinese superpower as a dangerous warmonger who strives violently for imperialist world hegemony. This means that those Maoist forces who neglect or who ignore this fact, or who keep silence on it, are objectively on the side of the imperialist warmongers, no matter if they deny this or not. Therefore, the accusations on comrade Enver Hoxha have damaged the Maoists themselves. In words the Maoists are against imperialist wars, but in deeds they support them.

The Chinese warmonger misused the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the unavoidability of imperialist wars. The question of the unavoidability was absolutized and deformed for the purpose of their military intentions. In history, the peoples did not face the warmongers as a “passive mass”. They have bravely shown and proved for many times that they had successfully prevented unleashing of wars. However, the Chinese social imperialists ignore the active peace movement of the peoples and paralyze its revolutionary potency for the purpose of having free hand of unleashing their imperialist war. Neglecting the rivalry between US-imperialism and Chinese social imperialism means neglecting the danger of the world war.

By publishing such a dreadfully anti-Hoxhaist document, the Chilean and American Maoists openly assume their anti-Marxist ideology.

But all these falsities invented by the Maoists have no future. Far from having done “an erroneous analysis about revisionism”, the Albanian Marxists-Leninists headed by comrade

Enver brilliantly unmasked all revisionist currents without exception. One of the greatest merits of comrade Enver as 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism was precisely to denounce Maoism as a deceitful pro-imperialist and pro-capitalist, ultra-reactionary and anti-socialist revisionist tendency:

“Under the leadership of comrade Enver Hoxha the capitalist-revisionist world was not able to smash Albanian socialism and to sweep socialism off the globe. His struggle and teachings resisted the attacks of all revisionist branches all over the world including the revisionist branch of Maoism. The teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha are therefore the guarantee of the protection and development of the Marxism-Leninism of today. The teachings of Enver Hoxha are the teachings of Marxism-Leninism of today.” (Documents of the Comintern (SH), *Neo-revisionism or Leninism?*, 2004, edition in English)

This is the true reason why Maoists qualify Enver’s analysis as “erroneous”.

3 – European continent

Relatively to the European continent, we must say that this is a continent whose proletariat is significantly influenced by Maoism. Europe was, during many years, the main epicenter of communist ideology and of proletarian consciousness. In fact, Marxism was born in Europe and also the Great October Revolution of 1917 started in the European part of Russia. And how could we forget Comrade Enver’s Albania, an European country which proved that socialism is not only a mere possibility, but a veritable historic necessity which cannot be avoided?

Formerly, Europe was considered to be – together with North America - the center of the socialist revolution. Nowadays, this is not true anymore, but despite this, the European workers continue to have a very important role to play in the world socialist revolution. Because of this, the world bourgeoisie in general and the European bourgeoisie in particular use Maoist revisionism as an instrument to deceive European proletarians. This situation was especially evident during the second half of the XXth century, when immense numbers of European revolutionaries were seduced by Maoism, especially after Khrushchevist betrayal, when Mao tried to depict himself as “the most faithful defender of Marxism-Leninism”. This Maoist noxious influence was particularly felt among the young European workers who believed in Mao’s lies. One of the most notorious examples of this was the very famous “Revolution” of May, 1968 which reached significant dimensions in many European countries. This “Revolution” was bourgeois and anti-socialist to the bone and was encouraged by the “liberal” bourgeoisie with the purpose of directing the grievances of the young students towards convenient scapegoats in order to prevent them from gaining a truly Marxist-Leninism-Stalinist consciousness. Of course, Maoism was essential in the accomplishment of the bourgeois’ plans. Its “leftist” phraseology greatly contributed to the misleading of those students, because besides its fake “radical” slogans, the truth is that Maoism’s objective is to establish a “civilized” and “tamed” capitalism free from all forms of class struggle. Indeed, it was not by chance that the “Revolution” of May, 1968 was mostly led by students; after all, the anti-Marxist “Great Cultural Revolution” fabricated by Mao was also led by students. The “Revolution” of May, 1968 was nothing more than an European copy of the Maoist “Great Cultural Revolution” and the purposes of both were exactly the same: to perpetuate capitalism through the alienation of the masses’ attention in benefit of the exploiting classes. And the irrefutable proof which suffices to clarify the social-bourgeois character of these “revolutions” was the fact that in none of them the proletariat and its party played a relevant role - a situation which is in total opposition to the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism. And even the manner in which the “Revolution” of May, 1968 was organized shows its totally pro-capitalist tendencies: after much noise, the “revolution” ended with the bourgeoisie making some phony “concessions” to the “revolutionary students”. These “concessions” did not touch capitalist exploitation in the least – quite on the contrary, it permitted the bourgeoisie to increase class oppression due to the occultation of the class nature

of the capitalist state through the granting of those “concessions”.

The “Revolution” of May, 1968 was only one among many examples of how Maoist influence constitutes a serious handicap for the advancement of socialism in Europe.

Nowadays, there are Maoist parties and organizations in nearly all European countries, and this reveals how much Maoist social-fascism is disseminated within the ranks of the European proletariat. This situation is particularly grave in Southern Europe, where poverty, unemployment and austerity measures imposed by the imperialist European Union have attracted many workers to Maoism due to its “revolutionary” appearance. But Maoist social-bourgeois theories are also a serious obstacle to the advancement of socialist revolution in the countries of Central and Northern Europe. Even in Norway there is the Workers’ Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of Norway – AKP (“ML”) - which is just as revisionist as any other Maoist organization around the world. In the late 70’s, the neo-revisionist leaders of the AKP (“ML”) sent a letter to the PLA ridiculously affirming how shocked they were about the unmasking of Maoism by the authentic Marxist-Leninists. In that letter, they re-affirmed once more their support for the fascist “three world theory”:

“We disagree with the criticism of the theory of the three worlds. The AKP (m-l) program from 1976 and our Resolution on social-imperialism from 1974 make it quite clear that we support Mao Tsetung’s theory that the world today is to be divided in three: the superpowers, the small and medium-sized imperialist countries, and the third world, This is the characteristic of the objective conditions of the world today, and no correct strategy for revolution can be drawn up if it is not founded on such analysis of the world situation.” (“Class Struggle” - International Bulletin of the Workers’ Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of Norway, No. 12, *Letter from the AKP (ML) to the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania*, October 1978, edition in English)

In reply, the Marxist-Leninist World Movement of comrade Enver Hoxha remarked that:

“Today the “three worlds” theory has become an object of scorn and hatred all around the globe. This so-called “theory” is nothing but the social-chauvinist stand of sellout and betrayal and a mishmash of tired-out revisionist theses. It is despised and condemned by the Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations the world over. (...) The recent establishment of U.S.-China diplomatic relations and Deng Xiaoping’s tour of the U.S. have provided yet another proof of the utter bankruptcy of the “three worlds” theory. These events were both part of and a new stage in the warmongering U.S.-China alliance. Today those who do not see the revisionist and counter-revolutionary nature of the theory of “three worlds” are blind. (...)

Thus all over the world the Marxist-Leninists have put fighting the “three worlds” theory and Chinese revisionism as one of their crucial tasks. It is an essential part of the fight against modern revisionism and social-imperialism. (...)

The “three worlds” theory is not just an erroneous “international line,” nor is Chinese revisionism just a question of policies relating to China’s internal degeneration. No, first and foremost, “three worlds-ism” is a whole system of opportunist and revisionist views and practices on every question. It is all-round collaboration with the bourgeoisie on all questions. (Documents of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement of comrade Enver Hoxha, *U.S. Neo-Revisionism as the American Expression of the International Opportunist Trend of Chinese Revisionism*, Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists, 1979, edition in English)

“A new kind of revisionism has emerged – it is the treacherous “three world theory”, which is an attack against Marxism-Leninism and against the Communist International (...). The genuine Marxist-Leninist parties must perceive the counter-revolutionary “three world theory” as being an expression of modern revisionism. (...) The concept of “three world” is presented as being “an important contribution to Marxism-Leninism” and a “new global strategy”, but in truth it is nothing more than a general assault against

Marxism-Leninism whose purpose is to jeopardize the cause of revolution and socialism. Therefore, this variant of modern revisionism must be firmly combated. (...) Despite the sabotage of the revisionists, the proletariat and the oppressed peoples will undoubtedly manage to achieve socialist victory and the world revolution will triumph over world imperialism. ("Der Weg der Partei" – theoretical Organ of the KPD/ML, *Die "neue Weltstrategie" der Führung der KP Chinas - eine Strategie des Revisionismus*, 1978, translated from German language)

Furthermore, the neo-revisionists of the AKP ("ML") also declared that:

"In conversations with representatives from the AKP (m-l) Comrade Ramiz Alia has explicitly stated that the PLA does not consider Mao Tsetung a Marxist-Leninist classic on a par with Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We think this is a mistake, an underestimation of Mao Tsetung. In the point of view of the AKP (m-l), Mao is not only a Marxist-Leninist classic, but he is one of the greatest." (Class Struggle - International Bulletin of the Workers' Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of Norway, No. 12, *Letter from the AKP (ML) to the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania*, October 1978, edition in English)

Here we can see that against all evidences, Norwegian Maoists continued to qualify social-bourgeois Mao as a "Classic of Marxism-Leninism".

And there are may more Maoist parties in Europe which are as reactionary as the AKP ("ML"). Therefore, we will try to unmask some of those European Maoist parties which are doing so much harm to the noble cause of communism not only in Europe, but also in the whole world.

3.1 – Communist Party of Great Britain (Marxist-Leninist)

The "Communist" Party of Great Britain ("ML") is one of those few Maoist parties which still consider present China as a socialist country. This kind of Maoist parties is becoming rarer and it is easy to understand why: nowadays, the predatory character and actions of the Chinese imperialist state are completely explicit and obvious. The "leftist" and "progressive" appearance that Chinese social-fascism had during Mao's epoch (when the power of the Chinese national bourgeoisie was still not fully consolidated, and consequently it needed "communistic" slogans in order to deceive Chinese toiling masses) begun to disappear when Deng Xiaoping came to power. Today's China is an openly fascist dictatorship which bloodily represses Chinese ultra-exploited workers in favor of the profits of the Chinese monopolist bourgeoisie. In face of this, the majority of the Maoist parties try to draw a demarcation line between Mao's China (which was allegedly "Marxist-Leninist") and post-Mao China (which is reactionary and capitalist). We, Stalinist-Hoxhaists, know very well that there is no difference between Mao and his successors. Deng Xiaoping's pro-capitalist clique was the logical and necessary continuation of Mao's pro-capitalist clique:

"Mao Tsetung was neither willing nor able to take to heart the principles and standards of a Bolshevik party. This concerns again the handling of his successors. It was Mao Tsetung himself who decided first Liu Schao – tshi, then Deng Hsiao – ping, Lin Piao and then Hua Kuo – feng as chairmen of the party after his death – and this after all their revisionist crimes and betrayals! (...)

In our opinion there is no essential demarcation line between the Chinese revisionism before and after the death of Mao Tsetung. The development of the Chinese socialimperialism and socialfascism of today is the logical consequence of the revisionist "Mao Tsetung Ideas". (Documents of the Comintern (Stalinists-Hoxhaists), *Neo-revisionism or Leninism?*, 2004, edition in English)

Nonetheless, nearly all Maoist parties try to make this differentiation in order to deceive the proletarians, making them believe that Mao was a true communist which was supposedly "betrayed" after his death. In

this sense, the British Maoists are among the most sincere of all Maoists, because at least they assume their support for Chinese social-imperialism and social-fascism in straightforward terms:

“On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain (Marxist-Leninist) (CPGBML), and all the members and supporters of our party, we would like to extend our warmest fraternal greetings to you on the forthcoming seventeenth national congress of the Communist Party of China. (...)

Comrade Hu Jintao also laid great stress on the fact that none of China’s recent achievements could have been possible without the strong foundations laid by Mao Zedong and his comrades.

He said that the party “must never forget” that their work over the last period was “conducted on a foundation laid by the party’s first generation of central collective leadership with Comrade Mao Zedong at its core, which founded Mao Zedong Thought, (...) and scoring great achievements in our socialist revolution and construction (...).

(...) the ancient land of China, once despised and bullied as a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, has today stood up as a dignified power to whom no imperialist bully can dictate. (...)

We shall follow the proceedings of your congress with interest and take this opportunity to affirm our militant solidarity with the Communist Party and people of China in your struggle to further develop China so that it may become a strong, prosperous socialist country that will make its due contribution to the communist goal of the emancipation of all humanity.”

(<http://www.cpgb-ml.org/index.php?secName=proletarian&subName=display&art=349>, *Proletarian issue n° 21*, December 2007, edition in English)

These words written by the British Maoists on the occasion of the 17th Congress of the “C” PC may sound unbelievably reactionary, but the readers who have doubts about our sincerity can easily enter the official site of the “C”PGB (“ML”) to read them with their own eyes. Indeed, the efforts of the British Maoists to defend Chinese social-fascism are so intense that they are even recognized by the leaders of the “C”PC, who regularly send their representatives to attend the congresses and meetings of the “C”PGB (“ML”):

“(...) delegations from the Chinese embassy have attended meetings of the CPGB-ML (...).”(Wikipedia, *Communist Party of Great-Britain (Marxist-Leninist)*, version in English)

Therefore, the British Maoists are entirely integrated in the perverse schemes of the Chinese pro-capitalist leaders. And social-imperialist China is far from being the only revisionist state praised by the British Maoists. In their official site, we can find eulogizing references to all existing social-fascist regimes, including to Castroist Cuba, which has been misleading, exploiting and repressing Cuban proletariat for more than 5 decades:

“Unswayed, Cuba continues to build socialism and to provide for its people. Furthermore, Cuba stands in comradeship with the revolutions in the Peoples’ Republic of China and the Democratic Peoples’ Republic of Korea, as it does with the struggle of Zimbabwe led by ZANU-PF and comrade Robert Mugabe. Socialist Cuba will always stand on the side of anti-imperialists in their struggles to free themselves, and those who claim to support Cuba must, if their professed support for Cuba is to mean anything, do the same.” (<http://www.cpgb-ml.org/index.php?secName=proletarian&subName=display&art=389&from=results> *Proletarian issue n° 23*, April 2008, edition in English)

In this article, we already explained the embracement of KimIlSungism by the Maoists and the close links that exist between both revisionisms. Consequently, we will now focus our attention

on the “C”PGB’s praises of nepotist Cuba and of social-fascist Zimbabwe.

Just like Mao represented the interests of the Chinese national bourgeoisie struggling for power against the dominion of the Chinese bourgeoisie of the compradore type, also Castro represents the interests of Cuban national bourgeoisie fighting against the total and exclusive sway that American imperialism held over the island. In many senses, the aims of this “radical” section of the Cuban bourgeoisie led by Castro were far less ambitious than those of the Chinese national bourgeoisie led by Mao. While the latter aimed at complete domination over Chinese state and its transformation into an imperialist superpower, Cuban “progressive” bourgeoisie only aimed at a better position within the capitalist world market. Despite this, the ideological content of Maoism and Castroism is fundamentally the same: both try to mislead the workers of their respective countries through using “socialistic” and “leftist” masks to hide the perpetuation of capitalism and both prevented the proletariat from establishing its dictatorship and from building socialism in their countries. And just like happens with Maoism, also Castroist ideology is presented by the world bourgeoisie as being “communist” and even “Stalinist”. Of course, the world bourgeoisie has a lot of interest in convincing world workers of this, because in this manner they are kept away from the authentically revolutionary Stalinist-Hoxhaist ideology. Furthermore, there is also another important characteristic which is common to both Maoism and Castroism: both propose an apparently “civilized” and “progressive” capitalism. A bourgeois analyst once described Castroist Cuba as being “a somewhat radicalized version of the Scandinavian welfare state”. And the same could be said about the phony “socialism” theoretically designed by Mao. Indeed, the final purpose of these revisionist currents is to construct a “perfect” capitalism under which there would be no class struggle because its socialistic mask would be so well done that workers would firmly believe that they were “advancing towards communism”. Wage slavery and exploitative capitalist relations of production would hide behind an allegedly “state-controlled economy” and a political system supposedly dominated by the “communist party”. Workers would no longer struggle against capitalism for the simple reason that apparently capitalism has already been abolished! The “communitistic” outlook of this kind of system would reach the point of inculcating in the proletarians the false conviction that they are already living in a “socialist society”. This is undoubtedly the ultimate revisionist dream. Indeed, the creation of such capitalism is the final objective not only of Castroism/Guevarism and Maoism, but also of most of the other revisionist currents. Of course, one of the main essential characteristics that this “capitalism with a socialist face” must have in order to deceive the workers is a wide range of so-called “social and human services” like “free” health care and “free” education system (we say “free” because the oppressive tax system continues to exist in this kind of capitalist-revisionist system, and therefore those “free” services are actually paid mainly by the workers). These “social and human services” are to be presented by the revisionist bourgeoisie as “undeniable proofs of socialism”. However, if to us Stalinist-Hoxhaists this kind of “perfect” capitalism which utilizes a “socialist” disguise in order to be eternally preserved is something horribly deceitful and dangerously counter-revolutionary, to the social-fascists of the “C”PGB (“ML”) it seems to be a sort of heaven on earth:

“The Cuban people enjoy a standard of living incomparable in the western world. Incomparable not because of the material goods they have, as these are undoubtedly limited, but because of the freedoms that they benefit from: the freedom that ensures every Cuban lives under shelter, has the right to universal free education and access to a healthcare system that is not dependant on income. In short, the freedom to live a full life no matter who you are or which family you are born into. (...)

As for education, the initial ambition of the revolution to rid Cuba of illiteracy has long since been achieved, something not all so-called developed countries can lay claim to. Education is taken very seriously, with 10 percent of Cuba’s GDP being spent on

providing free, universal education for all. (...)

Before the revolution, only 8 percent of the rural population had access to health care, but today Cuba can boast of a system that provides free health care to its entire population (...).The doctor to patient ratio in Cuba is higher than any other country, with a doctor for every 169 inhabitants. In Britain, on the other hand, the average doctor has to attend to 600 inhabitants.” (<http://www.cpgb-ml.org/index.php?secName=proletarian&subName=display&art=456>, *Proletarian issue n° 27*, December 2008, edition in English)

“1. In Cuba there is one teacher for every 36.8 inhabitants. In the UK, there is one teacher for every 802 inhabitants. (...)

A poor country like Cuba is only able to achieve all this because of its socialist system.”

(<http://www.cpgb-ml.org/index.php?secName=proletarian&subName=display&art=251>, *Proletarian issue n° 16*, February 2007, edition in English)

These statements could not be clearer: “a country like Cuba is only able to achieve all this because of its socialist system.” As if socialism is nothing more than education and health care, as if socialism is reduced to some ridiculous alms given by the social-fascist-revisionist bourgeoisie to the workers it oppresses and exploits!

Socialism is infinitely more than that: socialism means the definitive abolition of capitalist exploitation, it means the destruction of the tyrannical class society under which workers are subjected to wage slavery and its replacement by a society which is in accord with the principle: “From each one according with his/her capacities, to each one according to his/her work”. But socialism also means the implementation of a new mentality; because socialism cannot be completed and cannot give place to communism without the total revolutionarization of social and family relations, without the annihilation of backward habits, etc... Therefore, socialism is synonym of destruction of everything related with the old exploiting capitalist socio-economic-ideological order through the use of harsh revolutionary proletarian violence. As comrade Enver remarked:

“True, PLA’s general-line struggles for the country’s industrialization, the development of cooperative agriculture, the extension of education services (...). However, no matter how important these objectives are, they will never be an end in themselves, because they are just means to achieve a higher purpose: the material and spiritual emancipation of the working masses (...).”(Enver Hoxha quoted by Gilbert Mury in *Enver Hoxha contre le révisionnisme moderne*, Paris, 1972, translated from French language)

What a contrast with the awfully reformist theories supported by the British Maoists, for whom socialism = bourgeois welfare state!

In fact, being staunch supporters of “capitalism with a socialist face”, the British Maoists present the existence of health and education services as proof that socialism is being built in Cuba. This “theory” is so absurd that it would be laughable if it was not so excruciatingly reactionary. Nowadays, nearly all countries of the so-called “developed world” provide health and education services to the workers (true, the quality and level of gratuity of those services may vary from

one “developed” capitalist country to another, but those services still exist in most of them). Indeed, comrade Karl Marx had predicted this long ago by noting that the capitalists need qualified and healthy workers whose “fruitful” exploitation is able to originate plenty of profits. Therefore, if we follow this “theory” defended by the “C”PGB (“ML”), we will certainly conclude that practically all the “developed” capitalist countries are socialist!!!

But what could we expect from a party which shamelessly supports black racist Mugabe and his oligarchic tribal tyranny which serves Chinese imperialism against the interests of Zimbabwean workers?

During centuries, Zimbabwe (former Rhodesia) was part of the British colonialist empire and served only as a supplier of raw materials in benefit of the profits of British imperialist bourgeoisie. Rhodesian white leaders were ardent defenders of social-Darwinist racist theories and considered Rhodesia’s black population as “subhuman” (these theories were used by them to justify the intense exploitation and repression which was exercised over Rhodesia’s black workers, who constituted the majority of the population). Consequently, after independence from Great Britain, a white supremacist plutocracy was installed in Rhodesia under the leadership of Ian Smith. As a consequence of the racist and genocidal exploitative policies of Smith’s regime, Zimbabweans quickly organized an armed liberation struggle. Unhappily, this struggle was never led by an authentic communist party, but by a bourgeois-nationalist organization – the Zimbabwe’s African National Union (ZANU). The ZANU claimed to follow “the principles of Marxism-Leninism” allegedly in order to “establish socialism in Zimbabwe”, but unfortunately, reality was something else. Indeed, in spite of its cheap “leftist” slogans, the ZANU was never truly Marxist-Leninist. In his speech to the 6th Pan-African Congress, H. Chitepo – the president of the ZANU – affirmed his organization’s adherence to Pan-Africanism and openly declared that:

“Pan-Africanism rejects the narrow viewpoints related to (...) class.” (H. Chitepo, *Speech of the national chairman of ZANU to the 6th Panafrican Congress*, *Zimbabwe News*, Volume 8, No° 6 - June 1974, translated from version in German language)

A genuine Marxist-Leninist would never defend something like this. In first place, Pan-Africanism is a non-communist notion which, although useful in the bourgeois-democratic stage of African peoples’ struggle (for purposes of anti-imperialist union, etc.), it ultimately turns out to be a counter-revolutionary concept in posterior socialist and communist stages. This because Pan-Africanism is mostly based on cultural and racial concepts and not on class materialist ones. We, Stalinists-Hoxhaists, know that class concepts determine everything. This constitutes one of the basic pillars of the whole communist ideology. Therefore, it is extremely reactionary to say that to see things from a class viewpoint is to be narrow-minded. Another serious mistake committed by ZANU is its refusal to make differentiations between white settlers. Throughout their historical documents, ZANU’s leaders homogenously refer to “the oppressive regime of the white racist settlers” and declare:

“Our party unites everybody against their common enemy – the white settlers.” (Historical documents of ZANU, *Political Program of ZANU*, November 27, 1973, translated from version in German language)

As can be concluded, ZANU does not even make a firm distinction between the white landowners and capitalists (who go to Zimbabwe only to increase profits through workers’ exploitation), on one side, and the poor toilers of European descent who emigrated to

Zimbabwe to improve their lives but who also ended up being exploited and who are in a situation equivalent to that of black workers, on the other side. ZANU should have encouraged union with these last ones, because both oppressed black and white Zimbabweans workers have the same class interests, purposes and enemies. Indeed, their union only increases their strength in the combat against racism, capitalism and imperialism. However, ZANU's leaders preferred to declare:

"There cannot be share of power between Africans and whites in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe is an African country and therefore, Africans are its legitimate owners." [*Zimbabwe News* (central organ of ZANU), *ZANU 's Criticism on the ANC*, Vol. 1, N° 1; November 1973, translated from version in German language]

In first place, it is obvious that Zimbabwe's legitimate owners are the native Africans. Nobody here is questioning it. However, this should not prevent the union between native proletarians and white proletarians against their common oppressors. Also in this, ZANU's leaders rejected the principled positions of the former Comintern of comrades Lenin and Stalin about African nations: recognizance that Africa belonged primarily to native workers without neglecting the urgent necessity of union between black and white exploited masses. In its "Resolution about the South African Question", the former Comintern correctly stated:

" (...) South Africa belongs to the native population. (...) In its propaganda among the native masses the Communist Party of South Africa must emphasize the class differences between the white capitalists and the white workers, the latter also being exploited by the bourgeoisie as wage slaves (...) black and white workers are not only allies, but are the leaders of the revolutionary struggle (...) intensive propagation of the chief slogan of a native republic will result not in the alienation of the white workers from the Communist Party, not in segregation of the natives, but, on the contrary, in the building up of a solid united front of all toilers against capitalism and imperialism." (Documents of the former Comintern, *Resolution about the South African Question*, adopted by the Executive Committee of the Communist International following the Sixth Comintern congress in 1928, version in English language)

These words were about South Africa, but they are also totally applicable to Zimbabwe's situation.

Therefore, if white Zimbabweans toilers are also exploited and subjected to wage slavery just like black Zimbabwean workers, there is no reason why they should not unite and seize power all together. Contrary to what ZANU's leaders declare, this is not a question of sharing of power between different races. In the context of the struggle for socialism and communism there are no races, but only classes. So, instead of being so worried about preventing the share of power with whites, ZANU's leaders should have strived for preventing the share of power with the exploitative elements – independently of their skin color. They should have fought for the union between both white and black repressed workers. But they could have done this only if they were true communists, if they were true Marxist-Leninists – and this was not the case. Consequently, they played racists' game and ultimately defended the further division between native and white Zimbabwean toilers.

ZANU tends to see everything from a race perspective instead of from a class perspective:

“In Zimbabwe, (...) the exploiters (...) are exclusively white, while the exploited are all black Africans. The struggle in Zimbabwe is a racial war.” (H. Chitepo, *Speech of the national chairman of ZANU to the 6th Panafrican Congress*, *Zimbabwe News*, Volume 8, No° 6 - June 1974, translated from version in German language)

If there were still doubts about ZANU's anti-Marxist leanings, this statement dissipates all of them. In first place, even during Smith's rule it was false that all exploiters were white. There were at least some black tribal chiefs who sided with the forces of white colonial rule and were also exploiting Zimbabwean workers.

In second place, it is also false that all exploited are black Africans. As we had referred many times, there were and still are many white Zimbabweans toilers who are as exploited and abused as their black colleagues. Relatively to this, ZANU's leaders argue that white workers were better paid than black workers, but this does not mean that white workers were necessarily less exploited than blacks. In synthesis, what determines the degree and intensity of exploitation is the quantity of surplus-value that the capitalist can extract from the worker's labor. It may happen that a better paid worker is in fact more exploited than a worse paid worker if the surplus-value that the capitalist master extracts from the first one is superior to that he extracts from the second one. Finally, the affirmation that the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe was a “racial war” is incredibly anti-socialist. The liberation struggle in Zimbabwe and in the rest of the world is always and without exception a class war between exploiters and exploited, between the owners of the means of production and the wage slaves.

Unsurprisingly, shortly after the phrases mentioned above, we can find in the cited Chitepo's speech a quotation from Mao stated in a praiseful tone. So, wherever there are anti-Marxist affirmations, Maoist quotations are never too far... Indeed, Zimbabwe's “liberation struggle” centered mainly in the countryside and ZANU's “freedom fighters” were mainly peasants, intellectuals and bourgeois, in what represented a neglecting of the proletariat – the only truly revolutionary class. The truth is that ZANU's leaders were very enthusiastic about Maoist anti-communist ideas:

“Undeveloped areas provide the basis for the struggle of the oppressed peoples.” (H. Chitepo, *Speech of the national chairman of ZANU to the 6th Panafrican Congress*, *Zimbabwe News*, Volume 8, No° 6 - June 1974, translated from version in German language)

This paragraph is frighteningly similar to Maoist ridiculous premises that “only the peoples of undeveloped nations are revolutionary”. This idea relates with Mao's “three world theory” defending precisely that the so-called “third world” (which is still nowadays under the rule of some of the worst fascist, reactionary and pro-imperialist regimes) is destined to be “the main force of revolution”. The anti-Marxist and pro-capitalist meaning of this concept was already explained by comrade Enver Hoxha in his brilliant works “Imperialism and the Revolution”, “The Superpowers”, etc... and also in this and in many other documents of the Comintern (SH). Therefore, we will not give further explanations about it right now. We will only add that even the terms used by ZANU's leaders denounce a deeply accentuated social-bourgeois and pro-Maoist tendency. In truth, they refer to the “oppressed peoples of the undeveloped countries”, but it would be much more accurate to refer to the “oppressed classes of the undeveloped countries”, because the word “people” can be very treacherous, as its meaning can include also exploiting elements. And given the fact that ZANU was heavily influenced by Maoism, we can certainly conclude that ZANU's leaders perceived the members of the aspiring black Zimbabwean bourgeoisie as being part of the “oppressed people” – while simultaneously considering white exploited workers as being part of the “oppressive enemy”. Therefore, for

ZANU's Maoist-influenced leaders, it was infinitely more desirable to promote the interests of the wannabe black exploiters than to unite with white oppressed proletarians in the revolutionary combat for socialism and communism.

In face of all this, no wonder that the revisionist and anti-Marxist tendencies of ZANU gave birth to such a disgraceful thing as it is the totalitarian social-fascist oligarchy presently ruling Zimbabwe – and which is nothing more than a puppet regime of Chinese social-imperialism.

In fact, bourgeois-nationalist ZANU was deeply influenced by Maoism since the beginning – social-bourgeois China was inclusively one of the main providers of weaponry to ZANU's fighters. This is entirely comprehensible in the context of Maoism's purposes of turning China into the world dominant superpower. Chinese imperialists clearly understood that to conquer Zimbabwe to their sphere of influence, they had to support ZANU against the white regime backed by western imperialism. In this manner, they first promoted an ideological invasion of Zimbabwe through Maoism with the goal of depicting this wicked and counter-revolutionary ideology with "progressive" colors, with the aim of presenting it as the ideology which would supposedly "free black Zimbabweans from racist tyranny towards socialism." And we have to admit that many Zimbabwean workers and peasants were totally misled by Maoist lies, they were blatantly manipulated and convinced that Mao's social-fascism would show them the path to complete liberation. This explains why the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe never evolved from a bourgeois-nationalist stage into a veritable socialist stage. Moreover, the ZANU was also supported by monarcho-fascist North Korea. This reveals us the lack of coherence affecting ZANU's leaders and members. On one side, they fought against Smith's pro-western racist plutocracy, but on the other side, they had no problems about receiving support from one of the most reactionary regimes that exist in this planet. We have already stated our position relatively to the North Korean oligarchy which savagely represses North Korean workers. We will only add that if ZANU's leaders were true Marxist-Leninists, they would have never accepted any kind of support from a social-fascist regime which bases its existence over the forced division of an entire country.

However, it is understandable that socialist Albania had to support ZANU due to strategical motives. Indeed, the armed struggle of ZANU was the only correct line to the liberation of Zimbabwean people. This is a fundamental principle of Marxism-Leninism.

As time passed, the ZANU transformed itself from a bourgeois-democratic movement into an openly fascist party. During Smith's rule, the ZANU's leaders screamed a lot against western imperialism, but they were not authentically anti-imperialists. They were just waiting for their opportunity to contribute to the replacement of western imperialism by Chinese imperialism and to benefit from capitalist class privileges. Even ZANU's anti-racist character suffered total degeneration. Nowadays, Zimbabwe's white minority is affected by discriminations and oppressions which are very similar to those suffered by black Zimbabweans during white colonial dominion. We can say that after the fall of white colonial rule, the white supremacist bourgeoisie was replaced by a black bourgeoisie which started to encourage racist attacks against the white minority. This situation worsened since Mugabe's clique is governing Zimbabwe. True, there are still some white landowners which are linked to western imperialism and who would like to restore white rule in the country. However, there are also many propertyless workers of European descent who were never involved in white rule and who are systematically intimidated, displaced or even killed by Mugabe's fascist forces. Black Zimbabwean journalist Kholwani Nyathi affirms in his articles:

"Mugabe (...) has been on a crusade against whites (...). (Mugabe) thinks fellow citizens

who are different from him are less human. (...) Although some may argue that there is nothing like black racism, what Mugabe and Zanu PF are doing is known as reverse racism. The term refers to racial prejudice or discrimination directed against the traditionally dominant racial group.” (www.newsday.co.zw, Kholwani Nyathi, *Racism, tribalism: Elephant in the room*, November 21, 2012, version in English language)

However, the problem of black racism in Zimbabwe reached the peak of attention when Zimbabwe's only white minister, David Coltart, complained that racist insults against white people are commonplace during Mugabe's cabinet meetings. Coltart is a bourgeois activist and a former opponent to Smith's regime. He affirms that his ministerial colleagues seem to forget he is in the same room when they make "shocking remarks" about whites and he says that "if I directed similar insults towards black people, I would rightly be branded as a Nazi or an admirer of the Ku Klux Klan." This gives us an idea about the seriousness of the racist offenses heard by Coltart. And we must bear in mind that he is talking about the highest-ranking officials of Zimbabwe's government! Therefore, we can conclude that the most intimate servers of the Zimbabwean dominant classes are doing their utmost to spread racist venom in order to prevent Zimbabwean workers from acquiring a communist consciousness and from uniting against their common foe – Mugabe's fascist tyranny and its Chinese social-imperialist bosses.

Furthermore, Mugabe publicly encourages the practice of black racism and has once said to his supporters: **"Strike fear in the heart of the white man."** In sequence of this, many white Zimbabwean workers were assassinated with impunity.

The referred statements are so explicit that we won't waste our time commenting them further. Zimbabwean toilers must annihilate their enemies through revolutionary force and violence under the guidance of a genuine Stalinist-Hoxhaist party leadership. But they must do this because of the exploitative and oppressive character of those enemies, and never because of their skin color. Furthermore, we had already mentioned that to perceive every white African as someone who is inevitably reactionary is a terrible mistake which has been committed by many African liberation movements – including by ZANU.

The purpose of this kind of attacks against white minority is to make Zimbabwe's black proletarians forget that they are being as much exploited under Mugabe's pro-Chinese tribal oligarchy as they were under Smith's white supremacist order – while the last one was a lackey of Western imperialism, the first one is a lackey of Chinese social-imperialism. The only distinction between them are the different imperialist masters to whom they serve – in all the rest, Mugabe and Smith are ideological twins.

Here are some revealing facts about the absolute control Chinese social-imperialists exercise over Zimbabwe (all information was taken from the mentioned bourgeois and pro-capitalist sites):

Accordingly with recent news coming from China Development Bank, China has plans to invest around 10 \$ billion in Zimbabwe in various key economic sectors like gold and platinum refining, oil and gas exploration, fuel procurement and distribution, housing development, etc. Mashakada, the minister of economic planning and investment promotion of Zimbabwe openly declared that:

"China is looking into mining development, exploration and exploitation of agriculture,

infrastructure development and communication technologies.”
(<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/feb/01/zimbabwe-china-10-billion-economy>, *China poised to pour \$10bn into Zimbabwe's ailing economy*, *The Guardian*, 1st November, 2011, version in English language)

However, the construction of Chinese hotels in Mutare, Harare and the defence college in Mazowe is of no benefit to the majority of Zimbabweans, but only to the country's dominant classes and its Chinese social-imperialist masters.

And of course, the Chinese would never invest 10 \$ billion if they were not sure that they would get zillions more in return. And this was not the only billionaire agreement signed between Chinese social-fascists and Zimbabwe's kleptocrats. After all, we must not forget that Zimbabwe has the world's second biggest platinum reserves and huge deposits of alluvial diamonds:

“Mining will be a major beneficiary of an US\$8 billion accord the government of Zimbabwe and a Chinese joint venture have signed. Reporting from the Zimbabwe capital, The Herald newspaper said that the agreement would result in investment in the southern African country's mining, energy and housing industries.”
(<http://www.miningreview.com/node/16779>, *US\$8 billion Chinese investment in Zimbabwe*, 20th November, 2009, version in English language)

Recently, a bourgeois book entitled “Win-Win Partnership? China, Southern Africa and Extractive Industries” authored by pro-capitalist organization Southern Africa Resource Watch (SARW) concluded that most Chinese companies in Zimbabwe violate local regulations and abuse workers with impunity because they are being protected by the country's leaders.

Moreover, several bourgeois articles significantly refer:

“Chinese investors have snapped up commercial and residential properties in Zimbabwe's capital, Harare, over the past few years. The influx of cheap Chinese goods, known locally as "zhing-zhong", has caused widespread annoyance.”
(<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/feb/01/zimbabwe-china-10-billion-economy>, *China poised to pour \$10bn into Zimbabwe's ailing economy*, *The Guardian*, 1st November, 2011, version in English language)

“The Asian giant, in return for its investments -- both in Zimbabwean infrastructure and in Mugabe's personal accounts -- has won near-exclusive dominance of everything from mineral rights to labor standards, as well as the apparent acquiescence of local politicians and police. (...) So far, the Zimbabweans who are most feeling China's influence in their country are the workers. As Chinese firms take over business and Chinese managers come to run everything from billion-dollar mining companies to the downtown restaurants in capital Harare, Zimbabwean workers and labor unions are complaining of mistreatment and exploitation. Earlier this month, construction workers went on strike over low pay -- \$4 per day -- and they complained about regular beatings by their Chinese managers within the Anhui Foreign Economic Construction Company.

Reports of beatings by Chinese managers are so common that even a cook at Harare's popular China Garden restaurant complained of them, telling the Zimbabwe Mail &

Guardian, "Working for these men from the East is hell on earth." "Workers continue to endure various forms of physical torture at the hands of these Chinese employers right under the noses of the authorities," a spokesperson for the Zimbabwe Construction and Allied Trade Workers' Union told the same newspaper. "One of the most disturbing developments is that most of the Chinese employers openly boast that they have government protection and so nothing can be done to them. (...) China has adeptly co-opted much of the country's political leadership, buying impunity for Chinese managers as well as control over much of Zimbabwe's economy. China recently paid \$3 billion for exclusive access to Zimbabwe's extensive platinum rights, a contract estimated to be worth \$40 billion." (<http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2011/06/in-zimbabwe-chinese-investment-with-hints-of-colonialism/240978/>, *In Zimbabwe, Chinese Investment With Hints of Colonialism*, The Atlantic, 24th June, 2011, version in English language)

So, the Chinese social-imperialists pay \$3 billion for a contract worth \$40 billion. Our previous assertions that Chinese greedy social-fascists only invest if they are able to regain maximum profits in return are confirmed. And it is obvious that corrupt Mugabe is willing to sell his own country to the Chinese imperialists if this assures him bourgeois luxury class privileges:

"Zimbabwe-watchers suspect that the autocratic president benefits personally from these kinds of deals from China. It's not hard to find the payoff -- he keeps a large (and heavily guarded) mansion in Hong Kong, where he is often seen on shopping sprees under the guard of Chinese special police." (<http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2011/06/in-zimbabwe-chinese-investment-with-hints-of-colonialism/240978/>, *In Zimbabwe, Chinese Investment With Hints of Colonialism*, The Atlantic, 24th June, 2011, version in English language)

It is also known that the Chinese embassy in Harare (Zimbabwe's main city) prepared an opulent birthday party for fascist Mugabe on occasion of his 86th anniversary (!). This testifies of how content the Chinese social-imperialists are towards their Zimbabweans servants. Indeed, this is the reason why Mugabe is still in power. From the moment Chinese social-fascist are not happy with him anymore, then he and his clique will be quickly ousted from power. In what respects to protecting and advancing their profitable class interests, Chinese social-fascists are anything but sentimentalists.

Today, the control exercised by the Chinese social-imperialists over Zimbabwe is so intense that the country can undoubtedly be considered as a veritable Chinese neo-colony ruled by a puppet regime which totally depends on China in political, economic and militar terms:

"China's grasp on Zimbabwe extends beyond even the African country's economy and political system. A massive military compound is under construction in Harare, built by Chinese firms and with a Chinese loan of \$98 million. The open-ended loan, which the already indebted Zimbabwean government has no obvious way of paying back, means that this component of the country's military will be effectively Chinese-owned. (...) This isn't the first time that Zimbabwe has relied on China for its security needs. During the 2008 political crisis, when Mugabe deployed violence to retain control of the country after declaring victory in a heavily disputed election, South African dock workers discovered that China was shipping in weapons for Mugabe's army. (...) the effect has been to deepen China's influence over what happens, and who rules, in Zimbabwe." (<http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2011/06/in-zimbabwe-chinese-investment-with-hints-of-colonialism/240978/>, *In Zimbabwe, Chinese Investment With Hints of Colonialism*, The Atlantic, 24th June, 2011, version in English language)

So, it is crystal clear that after the Maoist ideological invasion, Chinese social-imperialists are now occupying Zimbabwe with their bloody weapons, obnoxious “investments” and predatory capital penetration.

Mugabe and Hu Jintao (social-imperialist China’s “president”): two fascist dictators, two ruthless adversaries of the world proletarian dictatorship, two implacable enemies of world socialism and world communism

But the British Maoists of the “C”PGB couldn’t care less about all this. They are so deeply submerged in their nauseatingly anti-communist ideology that they don’t have any scruples about openly supporting Zimbabwe’s pro-Chinese kleptocracy. They try to justify this by qualifying Zimbabwe as a “black progressive regime” but they will never be able to deceive the world proletarians, who know very well that capitalist exploitation is always and invariably noxious, independently of the skin color of who exercises it. The same can be said about racism, because black racism is as counter-revolutionary and anti-socialist as white racism. Those who advocate the opposite (like happens with the British Maoists) are perilous enemies of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinist-Hoxhaism and of the world socialist revolution.

In face of all this, we think that there is nothing more to add relatively to the anti-communist character of the Maoist “C”PGB (“ML”). The facts are obvious and speak for themselves.

3.2 - Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany (MLPD)

The second European Maoist party about which we will reflect is the “ML”PD (in German: *Marxistisch-Leninistische Partei Deutschlands - MLPD*), which can be considered as the largest Maoist party in Germany.

Who is the MLPD?

The MLPD was founded in 1982 and recruited from various neo-revisionist elements. These circles appeared since 1970 - thus in a time when the KPD / ML [founded by Comrade Ernst Aust in 1968/69 - and which is now identical with the oldest section of our Comintern [SH]] - was in its construction process. The former leader of the MLPD, Willi Dickhut, was once a member of the first Central Committee of the KPD / ML. The MLPD is therefore originally a union of circles, which partly emerged from our former party members, and who tried to split the KPD/ML. Their goal was to hinder the development and strengthening of a true Bolshevik party of Lenin's and Stalin's type - on German soil and with the help of the ideology of Maoism.

The MLPD defends Mao Zedong as a "classics" of Marxism-Leninism and - from the very beginning - was guided by the revisionist general-line of Mao Zedong (published in 1963, June 14). The MLPD argues that China was "socialist" in lifetime of Mao Zedong and that capitalism was "restored" in China, after his death, after the so-called "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution".

The contradictions and the struggle between the MLPD and the KPD / ML increased in Germany in the same way and at the same time, such as between China and Albania, as between the Maoist and the Hoxhaist world movement. The MLPD and the KPD / ML embodied the organized struggle between Maoism and Hoxhaism on German soil for decades.

Meanwhile, the MLPD has nearly completely dropped its "Marxist-Leninist" mask and, in essence, the MLPD became an ordinary revisionist party both in theory and practice.

A considerable number of different political groups in Germany attempted to bridge these deep ideological contradictions between Maoism and Hoxhaism. In Germany there are different groups who estimate the MLPD as a "Marxist-Leninist" party though they criticize the mistakes of the MLPD. In Germany, there are diverse centrist-conciliatory positions towards the MLPD and this concerns also to the Turkish MLCP who is member of the ICOR. Thus this conciliatory position towards Maoism has to be

combated as an international phenomenon. Hoxhaism cannot be reconciled with Maoism, neither on a national nor on a global scale. They are two antagonistic ideologies, namely the ideology of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Therefore, it can and will be no unity with the MLPD.

Maoism is an ideological instrument used by the world bourgeoisie, under the guise of "Marxism-Leninism," for the purpose to denounce the true Marxist-Leninists in the world as "sectarian" and "ultra-leftists", for the purpose to isolate them from the world proletariat, from the socialist world revolution. The MLPD says: "Whoever attacks Mao Zedong, attacks also the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. This is the core question". That's why the MLPD vilifies Comrade Enver Hoxha as a "liquidator", and why they treat him like a "revisionist", just to be in a better position to hide behind the MLPD's own revisionism. The MLPD has taken over the anti-Stalinist line of Mao Zedong and makes Stalin responsible for the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union (bureaucracy-accusations). And so we say to the Maoists, "Those who attack Stalin, also attack Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism!"

The MLPD considers the Mao Zedong-ideas as "the main feature of a Marxist-Leninist organization." In contrast, we Stalinists-Hoxhaists say that anti-Maoism is an essential feature of a true Marxist-Leninist organization: a party which gives to itself the name "Marxist-Leninist party", however which refuses to struggle against Maoism, can never be a genuine Marxist-Leninist party.

The MLPD is a product of the organizational circle-principle, which is based on Maoism and expanding internationally. Together with other organizations of the ICOR the MLPD tries to spread the Menshevik spirit of Mao Zedong-ideas onto an international level. This is an attack on the Bolshevik organizational principles of the Communist International of Lenin and Stalin, is against the world's Bolshevik principles of organization of the Comintern (SH) directed. The MLPD plays a not insignificant role in the globalization of the organizational Mensheviks circle-principle against the organizational principles of the Bolshevik world party, against the Comintern (SH).

The Chinese "Cultural Revolution" was directed against the principle of the leadership of the Bolshevik Party. The MLPD defended this "cultural revolution" and is therefore against the communist leadership of the masses. From the very beginning the MLPD in Germany has practiced worship of the spontaneity of the masses and the MLPD tries to expand this Maoist "mass-line" all over the world. Maoist mass struggle means nothing else than guidance by spontaneity instead of guidance by Marxism-Leninism, means guidance by the bourgeois ideology. The Maoist so-called "mass politics" is bourgeois tailism who is dressed in revolutionary slogans. Even if the MLPD is trying to globalize this "mass politics", this will change nothing to its counter-revolutionary character. This concerns especially the trade-union-politics of the Maoist MLPD. Lenin combated the economists who have tried to sacrifice the Communist Party as a free supplement to the trade unions. The MLPD condemned our revolutionary trade-union policy as "sectarian" and our RGO (Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition) as "ultra-left". So the MLPD takes side with the imperialist and fascist German Trade Union Federation (DGB), the main instrument of the monopoly bourgeoisie within the workers' movement. By the way, the chairman of the DGB is also chairman of the largest world organization of the yellow unions. On May 1, 2012, the MLPD writes: "Fortunately, the DGB has finally realized that the MLPD is a friendly organization."

Continuing with our analysis of the "ML"PD, we will now scrutinize the party's participation at the 7th Conference of the ICMLPO which is divided in two parts: the first part consists of a "country report" while the second part consists of an historical account of the former Communist International seen from a Maoist point of view.

Starting with the first part of "ML"PD's participation, we observe that it is mainly composed of Maoist boasting:

"At the suggestion of the MLPD (...) in February at Bosch, then at Siemens, and in July at DaimlerChrysler, powerful company-wide strike days took place. (...) On July 5, 2004, 60,000 DaimlerChrysler workers went out on strike in a company-wide day of strike; 2,000 workers blocked a main traffic artery. (...) This characterizes the growing influence of the "ML"PG on the core of the class-militant industrial workers (...)." (ICMLPO, *International Newsletter*, n° 33, July,

2007, edition in English)

As to whether these “successes” of the “ML”PD were real or not, we don’t know. We wouldn’t be surprised if these words were nothing more than an enormous lie, because Maoists were always the masters of deceiving. But even if we admit that the German Maoists are saying the true, this only shows how much Maoism’s reactionary poison is spread within Europe’s most powerful imperialist country – Germany. This is a very worrying situation because the acquisition of an authentic revolutionary consciousness by the German workers and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship in Germany are absolutely decisive for the triumph of socialist revolution in Europe and all over the world.

Nonetheless, it is in the second part of their participation that the German Maoists mainly display their counter-revolutionary and anti-Marxist character by harshly criticizing the former glorious Comintern of Lenin and Stalin:

“Item 17 of Lenin’s proposal stated: “All decisions of the Communist International’s congresses and of its Executive Committee are binding on all affiliated parties” (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 211). (...) Accordingly, all parties were obligated to “everywhere build up a parallel illegal organization, which, at the decisive moment, will be in a position to help the Party fulfill its duty to the revolution” (*ibid.*, p. 208).

But the building of parallel structures went far beyond that. (...) This department’s representatives had de facto authority over the representatives of the local CPs and increasingly were bound up with the organs of the Soviet secret services. They also coordinated training and propaganda in the Comintern and headed publications that had nothing to do with parties in the capitalist countries (...).

These structures were linked with the secret services and special agencies of the USSR and were ultimately controlled by them. (...) In practice, the ideological-political and organizational independence of the communist parties was undermined or even abolished by way of these parallel structures. Democratic centralism in the Comintern acquired bureaucratic-centralist features.” (ICMLPO, *International Newsletter*, n° 33, July, 2007, edition in English)

As can be seen, the “arguments” used by the German Maoists against the former Comintern of Lenin and Stalin are completely anarchistic. Accordingly with them, Comintern’s “mistake” was that it supposedly “undermined the ideological-political and organizational independence of the communist parties and turned them into appendixes of the Soviet secret services”. First of all, we must keep in mind that when the Maoists talk about “independence”, what they really mean is independence relatively to Marxism-Leninism and nothing more. What truly upsets the Maoists is the great example set by the former Comintern, which basing itself on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism was able to unite the proletarian parties in benefit of the victory of socialism throughout the world. The Comintern founded by Lenin and Stalin represented what Maoists most hate: unconditional loyalty to genuine communist ideology. The Comintern of Lenin and Stalin always fought against the germination of bourgeois-revisionist tendencies within the ranks of the communist parties, and that’s why the Maoists say that the Comintern “undermined their independence”. Of course that the heroic and outstanding Comintern of Lenin and Stalin could never allow this Maoist “independence” which means nothing more than letting the communist parties capitulate in face of the pro-capitalist influences, thus jeopardizing the preservation and development of socialism.

It is crystal clear that this “criticism” entirely corresponds to the anarchistic origins of Maoism. Indeed, behind Maoists’ fake “concerns” about “independence”, we can easily perceive a furious anger towards the fierce proletarian discipline which characterized the Comintern’s work and activities and which was in total opposition to the anti-Marxist policy of bourgeois factions and to the anarchistic defense of the masses’ “spontaneous initiative” that are advocated by Maoism.

Finally, it is very interesting to note the depreciative manner in which the German Maoists refer to the Stalinist secret services. These secret services were one of the most valuable

instruments for the defense of the Soviet proletarian dictatorship and they were totally right about exercising surveillance over the communist parties in order to avoid the infiltration of the class enemy within their ranks. It is obvious that the Maoists are so furious about the activities of Stalinist secret services because they are still deadly afraid of the socialist power which was behind those secret services.

In making such kind of criticisms, the German Maoists are not saying anything new; they are just repeating the infamous slanders and calumnies that the pro-capitalist reactionaries invent with the objective of denigrating the glorious Soviet proletarian dictatorship headed by comrade Stalin.

And the German Maoists go further with their anti-communist zeal, stating that:

“Political mistakes and dirigism by the Executive Committee of the Comintern mainly were responsible for grave errors in the policies of the Communist Party of Germany, KPD. The Executive Committee was the initiator, for example, of the so-called RGO (*Revolutionäre Gewerkschaftsopposition* [Revolutionary Trade-Union Opposition]) policy.” (ICMLPO, *International Newsletter*, n° 33, July, 2007, edition in English)

So, now it is against the valiant Communist Party of Germany (KPD) led by proletarian hero Thalmann that the social-fascists of the “ML”PD are launching their attacks. They qualify KPD’s attitude towards the expulsion of communists from the German bourgeois trade-unions during the late 20’s and 30’s as “sectarian”. The German Maoists say that KPD’s decision of reacting to those expulsions by building up new red trade-unions under the leadership of the German communists was “a serious mistake”:

“To counter the reformist leadership's policy of expulsion, the communists must work with great skill in the unions and prove to be active members. It is fundamentally wrong to withdraw from the trade unions or encourage the organization of red unions affiliated to the party.” (ICMLPO, *International Newsletter*, n° 33, July, 2007, edition in English)

Therefore, accordingly with the “ML”PD, the German communists who were expelled from bourgeois trade unions during the advent of Nazism should have betrayed their ideology by imploring to the leaders of those trade unions to let them stay. Indeed, the German Maoists go even further by affirming that German communists should have made efforts to “be active members” of the pro-nazi trade unions, that is, that they should have contributed to the strengthening of those trade-unions. This opinion is so awful and reactionary that it does not need further comments. It entirely speaks for itself and plainly reveals Maoists’ ugliest face.

As if this dreadful ultra-reactionary position was not enough, the social-fascists of the “ML”PD also criticize comrade Stalin’s correct Marxist-Leninist teaching that considers social-democracy as synonym of social-fascism. They claim that this position was “wrong” and affirm that its adoption by Thalmann’s KPD promoted the ascension of Nazism:

“Closely related with the sectarian RGO policy was the social-fascism theory, which likewise originated with the Comintern. (...) The adoption of aggressive anticommunism in theory and practice by the Rightist leaders of the Social-Democratic Party (SPD) (...) did not make the SPD anything like a social-fascist party (!!!). Willi Dickhut pointed out the historic consequences of this wrong theory:

Defaming all social-democrats as social-fascists destroyed existing contacts between communists and social-democrats and prevented the creation of a proletarian united front which, as a strong backbone of a broad antifascist unity of action, could have prevented Hitler from seizing power.” (ICMLPO, *International Newsletter*, n° 33, July, 2007, edition in English)

In first place, comrade Stalin’s position is correct and consistent. Social-democracy is really a synonym of social-fascism: both try to maintain wage slavery and to preserve capitalist exploitative tyranny. In what respects to the accusation made by the German Maoists that the adoption of this firm and principled stand towards social-democracy by the KPD contributed to the ascension of Nazism, we can only say that this

charge is nowadays rejected even by bourgeois ideologues. In his book, “Blackshirts and Reds”, American bourgeois-democratic scholar Michael Parenti reflects about the ascension of Nazism and affirms that:

“In the December 1932 election, three candidates run for presidency: the conservative incumbent Field Marshall von Hindenburg, the Nazi candidate Adolf Hitler and the Communist Party’s candidate Ernst Thalmann. In his campaign, Thalmann argued that a vote for Hindenburg amounted to a vote for Hitler and that Hitler would lead Germany into war. The bourgeois press, including the Social-Democrats, denounced this view as “Moscow inspired”.

True to form, the Social-Democrat leaders refused the Communist Party’s proposal to form an eleventh hour coalition against Nazism. As in many other countries, past and present, so in Germany, the Social-Democrats would sooner ally themselves with the reactionary Right than to make common cause with the Reds. Meanwhile, a number of right-wing parties coalesced behind the Nazis and in January 1933, just weeks after the elections, Hindenburg invited Hitler to become chancellor.” (Michael Parenti, *Blackshirts and Reds*, San Francisco, 1997)

As can be concluded, even non-communists admit that the social-democrats of the SPD were to blame for Nazi ascension. So, contrary to what the social-fascists of the “ML”PG say, **the adoption of aggressive anticommunism in theory and practice by the Rightist leaders of the Social-Democratic Party (SPD) (...) indeed made the SPD a social-fascist party!**

Of course, German Maoists do their utmost to defend their ideological partners (the social-democrats) while falsely accusing the German communists of being responsible for the emergence of Nazism. This is quite expectable because both Maoism and social-democracy play the same role: they keep the oppressed masses in bondage by detaching them from the authentic communist ideology through the support of an allegedly “tamed capitalism”.

After this, the German Maoists affirm that:

“It was only the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern in 1935 which corrected the sectarian course and gave out a new tactical orientation to establish a united front against fascism.” (ICMLPO, *International Newsletter*, n° 33, July, 2007, edition in English)

Of course, the social-fascists of the “ML”PD would never loose an opportunity to praise the infamous 7th Congress of the Comintern in which the ultra-revisionist Dimitrov presented his loathful anti-Leninist “theory” of the “united front against fascism”. In truth, Dimitrov’s “ideas” were nothing more than an explicit appeal to the capitulation of communist parties in benefit of bourgeois-revisionist ideologies and movements; but the German Maoists seem to think that Dimitrov’s abhorrent social-capitalist “theories” were a veritable “cure” for the “mistakes” supposedly committed by “Stalinist sectarianism”. This position can be understood if we take into account the striking similarities between Dimitrov’s revisionism and Maoist revisionism, particularly in what respects to the defense that both make of the unity with the bourgeoisie under the excuse of “struggling against the common enemy” (in the case of Dimitrov’s revisionism, the role of this common enemy was played by fascism, while in Mao’s revisionism, the common enemy was imperialism – at least during Maoism’s initial stages). By perpetuating capitalism, both these kinds of revisionism ultimately favor the enemies they pretend to combat: Dimitrov’s “united front” theories aim to struggle against fascism, but by supporting the union between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie (which will always be an inherently exploitative class, no matter if we are referring to its openly pro-fascist sections or to its “progressive” and “anti-fascist” sections), Dimitrov’s revisionism is ensuring that the fight against fascism will never have a truly socialist and Marxist-Leninist character, it is ensuring that this anti-fascist struggle will never put capitalist system in risk, thus preventing the abolition of the inevitability of fascism, because fascism will always exist as long as capitalism exists. In the same manner, Mao’s phony “anti-imperialism” was never based on an authentic socialist ideology, but only wanted to pave the way for Chinese national bourgeoisie’s own imperialist aims. By advocating and promoting the “unity of all revolutionary classes” (including the alleged “anti-imperialist” bourgeoisie), Maoist revisionism prevented the anti-imperialist struggle of the

Chinese workers from acquiring a genuine communist nature, it prevented that anti-imperialist struggle from surpassing the limits of capitalism. This actually meant that Mao avoided the abolition of the inevitability of imperialism, because imperialism will always exist as long as capitalism exists – what permitted the accomplishment of the imperialist predatory purposes of the Chinese national bourgeoisie, to whom Mao faithfully served.

Consequently, by denying proletarian supremacy and by automatically supporting the dominance of the bourgeois oppressive socio-economic-ideological order, both Dimitrov's revisionism and Maoist revisionism fulfill their tasks of defending the class interests of the capitalists. In face of this, no wonder that Maoists love Dimitrov so much! They know very well that the aims and objectives of Dimitrov's "theories" are exactly the same of those of "Mao Zedong Thought".

Besides this, the German Maoists also state that they support a "socialism" which would allegedly be in accordance with each country's "specific laws and conditions". They add that Mao's "C" PC applied this "principle" in an "exemplary manner":

"This called (...) for independent parties willing and able to concretize the theory of Marxism-Leninism by applying the dialectical method to revolutionary practice in their countries and to realize strategy and tactics according with the specific laws and conditions. In an exemplary manner the Communist Party of China under Mao Zedong's leadership managed to achieve this (...)." (ICMLPO, *International Newsletter*, n° 33, July, 2007, edition in English)

Of course, being reactionaries and social-fascists, the German Maoists could not fail to praise the "theory of national socialism" which has been defended by all kinds of revisionists: since the sadly famous Tito's "Yugoslav road to socialism" to the not less famous *socialisme à la française* fabricated by the social-chauvinists of the French "Communist" Party and, of course, to the "socialism with Chinese characteristics" invented by Mao. All these "theories" of "specific socialisms" are nothing more than perverse attempts to hide the pro-capitalist and bourgeois character of their authors. As we had already highlighted in the DWM II:

"This is (...) closely related with what the Chinese revisionists call "socialism with chinese characteristics". As every revisionist current, Maoist revisionism also propagates its own "chinese socialism" (...). However, Comrade Stalin and Comrade Enver Hoxha always underlined that those specificities are always limited to minor and secondary aspects of the socialist edification and can never be extended to its essential characteristics, because socialist and communist edification must follow a certain and invariable line in accordance with the teachings of the Classics, regardless of the place in which socialism is being built." (Documents of the Comintern (SH), *Declaration of War against the Maoists II*, June 2011, version in English)

Finally, the German Maoists don't hesitate before insisting in the old lies about the supposed "anti-revisionist" struggle of the "C" PC and about the allegedly "socialist" nature of Mao's "Cultural Revolution":

"Beginning in 1963 the CP China conducted a public polemic against the revisionist betrayal. (...) The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1966 was the creative advancement of the strategy and tactics of class struggle in socialism, a successful mass movement to counter the danger of revisionist degeneration of the CP China and the restoration of capitalism in China." (ICMLPO, *International Newsletter*, n° 33, July, 2007, edition in English)

In the previous DWM I and DWM II, we had already analyzed this subject and tried to expose Mao's "anti-revisionist combat" as the total masquerade it actually was. Therefore, we will not loose more time with this issue and we politely direct our readers to the referred DWM I and II.

Relatively to the claims of the German Maoists that the Maoist "Cultural Revolution" was an example of "class struggle in socialism" and a "successful mass movement to counter the danger of revisionist degeneration", we will only recall comrade Enver's words:

“The «Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution» was not a cultural revolution (it was aimed against that culture which Marx and Lenin advocated). It was a political revolution, not on the Marxist-Leninist course, but an anarchist revolution, without a program, against the working class and its party, because in fact, the leading role of the working class and the party itself were liquidated. (...)

During this chaotic and anarchist revolution, allegedly repairs were carried out on the party, allegedly it was reformed. And how many were expelled after all this great turmoil and period of distrust and insecurity? Only three to four per cent. However, this figure does not indicate that the party had «decayed», but implies that Mao and some of his followers had no confidence in the party. What other «benefit» did the Cultural Revolution bring? None at all!” (Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China, Volume II*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

After all this, we think that no more comments are needed. The pro-capitalist, ultra-reactionary and social-fascist nature of the Maoist “ML”PD is already entirely proved and confirmed.

3.3 – Portuguese Workers’ Communist Party

The PW “C”P (in Portuguese: *Partido Comunista dos Trabalhadores Portugueses*) is the main Maoist organization in Portugal. Its aim is to mislead Portuguese workers by presenting Maoist revisionism as being the solution to all their problems. In many senses, the PW “C”P has a more “orthodox” appearance than the other European Maoist parties that are analyzed in this article. For example, in their statutes, the Portuguese Maoists treacherously affirm that:

“The Portuguese Workers’ Communist Party is the political party of the Portuguese proletariat (...). Its general-line consists in the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, in the replacement of the bourgeois dictatorship by the proletarian dictatorship. The final purpose of the PWCP is to implement a society without classes and without exploitation, is to implement communism.” (Documents of the PWCP, *Estatutos do PCTP*, translated from Portuguese language)

As can be observed, in comparison with the “C”PGB (“ML”), the phraseology used by the Portuguese Maoists sounds much more “socialist” than that used by the British Maoists, for example. However, this “communist” mask is only able to deceive those who want to be deceived. The truth is that the PW “C”P is a social-fascist organization which serves the interests of the Portuguese exploiting classes. For example, presently the Portuguese Maoists are launching a campaign entitled: “We won’t pay!”. In this campaign, they defend that Portuguese people should unite with the other Southern European peoples and refuse to pay the country’s debt towards imperialist institutions such as the IMF and the European banks. At first sight, this may sound appellative, but the truth is that the Portuguese Maoists seem to “forget” that foreign debts are the inevitable result of the domination of some countries over the others. And the domination of some countries over the others is something intrinsic to the capitalist-imperialist system which presently rules the world. Therefore, the only manner to abolish the inevitability of countries’ debts is through the total and complete destruction of this capitalist-imperialist order. But by embracing Maoist revisionism, the social-fascists of the PW “C”P are automatically rejecting any possibility of efficiently removing capitalist-imperialist exploitative system and all the evils inherent to it (like the oppression of some countries by others which originates the huge foreign debts, for instance).

Actually, if we search the documents of the Portuguese Maoists, we will see how their “proletarian” disguise completely falls apart and reveals all the counter-revolutionary and pro-capitalist ideological premises which are inherent to Maoism.

In 1997, Arnaldo Matos, the former leader of the Portuguese Maoists, gave an interview in which he did not make the slightest effort to hide the bourgeois nature of the PW “C”P:

“Stalin (...) was mistaken when he said he was building socialism in a single country. (...). He was mistaken when he thought (...) to have accomplished socialism in the countryside. (...) Therefore, when we criticize Stalin, we are criticizing an individual who committed mistakes.” (Arnaldo Matos, *Questões da Revolução*, January, 1997, translated from Portuguese language)

These statements are appallingly revisionist. It is obvious that the Portuguese Maoists fully embrace bourgeois lies and slanders about the glorious period during which comrade Stalin led the Soviet proletariat in the process of building socialism against the pressure of both the internal and external reactionaries. It is important to note that, just like happens with all other revisionists, also the Portuguese Maoists pretend to “take into account both Stalin’s errors and Stalin’s successes”, but this is a ridiculous lie. They are not interested in comrade Stalin’s inestimable victories and accomplishments. Under the excuse of “highlighting Stalin’s successes as well as his errors”, the Maoists repeat capitalist calumnies against comrade Stalin. Indeed, if we are going to believe in the Portuguese Maoists, we would conclude that nearly all actions of comrade Stalin were mistakes, when the truth is that comrade Stalin’s errors were practically inexistent. Indeed, comrade Stalin’s brilliant works and deeds constitute the essential core of his irreplaceable legacy. We know that there are no “perfect communists”, but Stalin was undoubtedly one of the comrades who were closest to revolutionary infallibility.

In what respects to the specific “accusations” made by the social-fascists of the PW “C”P, we can observe that they are irremediably fallacious. Relatively to their false affirmation that “socialist construction in a single country was a mistake”, it is crystal clear that the Portuguese Maoists adopt Trotsky’s “arguments” against comrade Lenin and comrade Stalin’s tenacity in keeping Soviet socialism alive. This “argumentation” corresponds to the main objective of the Maoists: to prevent the building of socialism. This was also the main purpose of the Trotskyists who defended the capitulation of the Soviet proletarian dictatorship allegedly in favor of “the world revolution” at a time when there were still no conditions to accomplish it. Therefore, we see the frightening similarities between the Maoists and the Trotskyists: both try to defeat socialism by advocating its capitulation towards capitalist-imperialist world. Comrade Lenin and comrade Stalin knew very well that to follow these counter-revolutionary “arguments” would mean to put weapons down in benefit of the internal and external enemies, it would mean the abandonment of the struggle for socialism in the Soviet Union. This was the reason why Trotskyism had to be harshly fought, because its victory would be synonym of defeat of the Soviet proletarian dictatorship. Just like Trotskyism was successfully combated by the Soviet workers led by comrades Lenin and Stalin, also nowadays the direct ideological successors of the Trotskyists – the Maoists – must be resolutely annihilated.

Furthermore, the Portuguese Maoists also criticize comrade Stalin by depreciatively affirming that he did not put Soviet countryside in the socialist path. We will answer to this infamous accusation by saying that everything depends on what we understand by “socialism”. If we embrace the concept of “socialism” as it is fabricated by the Maoist social-fascists, then the Portuguese Maoists are totally right when they say that Soviet countryside under the leadership of comrade Stalin was never “socialist”:

Soviet countryside under comrade Stalin’s authentic socialism	Chinese countryside under Mao’s fake and reactionary “socialism”
- total abolition of private property and of the bourgeoisie as a class	- preservation of private property, including that of the great landowners
- elimination of the exploitation and misery which formerly heavily affected the peasants	- perpetuation of peasant’s exploitation and repression by the landowners
- the organs of the Soviet power in the countryside were at the service of the	- Maoist “popular communes” were at the service of the dictatorship of Chinese

proletarian dictatorship and were firmly controlled by the heroic Soviet Marxist-Leninists who led the CPSU (B)	national bourgeoisie which controlled state power
- Soviet collective farms enjoyed a high technical level and peasants lived in abundance	- Maoist “popular communes” remained technically backward and they often suffered from severe famines and lack of basic materials and means (like occurred during the terrible Great Leap Forward)
- Soviet collective farms were living proofs of socialist democracy and of the alliance between the peasantry and the proletariat under the leadership of the latter. Together, these two classes fought against bourgeois elements and influences in benefit of genuine socialism always faithfully following the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism	- Chinese national bourgeoisie exercised its class dominion over these “popular communes” by sending “party delegates” who were mere pro-capitalist lackeys helping the Chinese national bourgeoisie to keep the peasants in bondage. Most times, these “party delegates” lived a lavish life at the expenses of the fierce wage slavery to which Chinese peasantry continued to be subjected during Mao’s reign

So, if we embrace Mao’s notion of “socialism” as the social-fascists of the PW “C”P do, then we are correct when we say that Soviet Stalinist countryside never aimed at “socialism”. On the contrary, if we remain loyal to the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism, if we thoroughly defend the principles of genuine communist ideology, then we know very well that Stalinist countryside was one of the most wonderful examples of socialist construction, then we know very well that Stalinist countryside was a place of heroic class struggle against the last remnants of bourgeois-capitalist material and spiritual oppression and exploitation.

But these kinds of anti-Stalinist and anti-communist positions are not astonishing if we take into account the ideological leanings of PW“C”P’s leaders. For example, the present general-secretary of the PW “C”P – a bourgeois lawyer – is closely connected with some of the most dreadful figures of the Portuguese right. Recently, he authored a book about “today’s political issues” whose preface was written by his friend Freitas do Amaral, who is the historical leader of the Portuguese “Christian-Democrats”. The crimes committed by the so-called “Christian-Democrats” (who are nothing more than mere fascists) against the communist movement not only in Portugal but also in many other countries are numerous in quantity and sinister in quality, but they do not belong to the scope of this text. We will only note that this kind of counter-revolutionary “friendships” reveal the true class nature of the Portuguese Maoists. Indeed, even the ultra-reactionary Durão Barroso (the president of the “European commission” and one of the main lackeys of the European imperialist bourgeoisie) was once a member of the PW “C”P! But let’s be sincere, if Mao himself was a friend of fascist bandits like Pinochet, Franco, Kissinger, Rockefeller and many others, then why should the Portuguese Maoists refrain from also being friends of the fascists?

These examples provide sufficient proof that Maoist social-fascism is intimately related with classical fascism.

Besides this, the PW “C”P also explicitly defends bourgeois pluralism:

“Within the party, nobody should be persecuted for having opinions which are in opposition to the dominant ones. (...) Everybody has the right of defending opposite views. This is a right which must be absolutely safeguarded. And this must happen not only in the party, but also in the entire State. (...). The expression of opinions must be

always free.” (Arnaldo Matos, *Questões da Revolução*, January, 1997, translated from Portuguese language)

Of course, this kind of ultra-revisionist stands are in total agreement with Mao's appeal of “letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools contend”. The purpose of this appeal is to encourage acceptance of pro-capitalist ideologies and influences, thus strengthening bourgeois exploitative rule and keeping the workers away from revolutionary socialism. As comrade Enver Hoxha accurately affirmed:

“Mao, who is advertized as a «great Marxist-Leninist» is nothing but an eclectic, a pragmatist, and as such, an opportunist. To move towards the theory of «letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools contend», is precisely the essence of the most opportunist pragmatism which leads to pluralism of parties, to undermining the leading role of the Communist Party of China in the revolution and the construction of socialism, hence to the restoration of capitalism.” (Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China, Volume II*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

And the Portuguese Maoists are far from being the only ones who embrace this nauseating “theory”. As we will see, also the Greek Maoists openly support bourgeois “pluralism” in defense of capitalist wage tyranny.

3.4 - Committees to Support Resistance for Communism (CARC) and (new) Italian Communist Party

The CARC (in Italian: *Comitati di Appoggio alla Resistenza per il Comunismo*) is a Maoist organization affiliated with the neo-revisionist (new) Italian Communist Party (in Italian: *nuovo Partito Comunista Italiano*) which allegedly aims to “reconstruct Italian communist movement”. In truth, it is a mere social-bourgeois organization which tries to prevent the formation of a truly Marxist-Leninist party in Italy. Fearing that the Italian proletarians could acquire a truly revolutionary consciousness, the Italian exploiting classes fabricated the CARC and the (n) I “C” P in order to detach them from the path of the world socialist revolution. But these purposes of the Italian bourgeoisie will undoubtedly fail because nothing on earth can keep the Italian workers away from Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism. Indeed, a simple look at the “country inform” given by the Italian Maoists at the 7th Conference of the ICMLPO completely reveals their social-fascist character:

“On October 2004, it was founded the (new) Italian Communist Party ((n) PCI) (...) The (n) PCI declared that its task was to resume the way begun by the first Italian Communist Party (PCI, the party of Antonio Gramsci), constituted in 1921. That party carried out a heroic resistance against Fascism (...).

The birth of (n) PCI started a debate within the CARC, that ended in the Spring of 2005. The CARC recognized the (n) PCI as the embryo of future headquarters of the working class, and gave it their full trust.” (ICMLPO, *International Newsletter*, n° 33, July, 2007, edition in English)

As can be observed, the Italian Maoists explicitly admit their anti-Marxism when they affirm to be in favor of the continuation of “the party of Antonio Gramsci”. This statement could not be clearer. The Italian Maoists are praising Gramsci who – much before Togliatti – was the main founder of Italian revisionism. The I “C” P born in 1921 was never a truly communist party, it was revisionist since its beginning precisely due to Gramsci's anti-socialist and pro-capitalist views. In fact, Gramsci replaced class struggle by the ultra-revisionist concept of “culture struggle”. Accordingly with Marxism-Leninism, what defines a certain class is its position relatively to the major means of production, but Gramsci denies this irrefutable truth by reducing everything to a mere “cultural issue”. Gramsci also openly denies proletarian dictatorship, replacing it by “proletarian cultural hegemony” – a very enigmatic concept

whose only objective is to confound workers, making them renounce to the establishment of a genuine proletarian power. Therefore, if we follow Gramsci's "theories", we will conclude that the entire transition from capitalism to socialism has nothing to do with proletarian dominion, nor with the use of revolutionary violence against the capitalist exploiters, but with a "cultural struggle" in which the proletariat will finally achieve "cultural supremacy" over the oppressors. Needless to say that Gramsci's "ideas" are totally opposed to Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism. The proletariat can only achieve cultural supremacy if it deprives the bourgeoisie of the private property of all means of production, if it has absolute control and power over the productive and material basis of society. And this can only be accomplished through the implementation of the proletarian dictatorship with the purpose of violently repressing the exploiters and of annihilating capitalist oppressive system. But Gramsci rejects all this. Indeed, it was not by chance that Gramsci's works were never published in Stalinist Soviet Union. They were never published because comrade Stalin understood the true nature of Gramsci's social-bourgeois "theories" like he also understood the true nature of Mao's social-bourgeois "ideas". And it is not difficult to see why. Maoist revisionism and Gramsci's revisionism have everything in common: both deny proletarian dictatorship (one of the main ideological teachings and aims of MSLH), replacing it with abstract concepts whose objective is to disguise the perpetuation of wage slavery and of bourgeois tyranny that these revisionisms defend (Maoism utilizes the concept of "new democracy" while Gramsci's revisionism uses the concept of "proletarian cultural hegemony"). Also both revisionisms try to cover their pro-capitalist ideological contents with some "socialistic" slogans in order to mislead the oppressed working masses. Therefore, it is not at all surprising that Italian Maoists depict Gramsci's I "C" P as an example to be followed, arguing that it "carried an heroic resistance against Fascism" and trying to present themselves as the continuers of that "heroic anti-fascism". However, their ridiculous masquerades will never deceive the proletariat, nor in Italy nor anywhere around the world. The truth is that Maoist revisionism and Gramsci's revisionism have exactly the same origins and purposes of fascism: they are ideological instruments fabricated by the bourgeoisie in order to eternally preserve capitalist exploitative totalitarianism.

Besides this, the Italian Maoists also present some kind of synthesis of their party's objectives:

"(The) (...) party (...) has brought Communists to enter again in a field let to bourgeois and revisionist parties for years, the field of bourgeois political struggle. This was a particular task within the general struggle carried out by the (n) PCI (...). The CARC believe necessary to carry out the work in this front of the struggle, where the Communists are almost completely absent (...). It is the field of the electoral campaigns, the activity of Parliament and other elective Assemblies, the campaigns of public opinion's orientation, the demonstration and the strikes organized by the bourgeois organizations." (ICMLPO, *International Newsletter*, n° 33, July, 2007, edition in English)

As can be concluded, the Italian Maoists are advocating participation in bourgeois political life, including in bourgeois elections and in the bourgeois trade-unions. They argue that CARC's and the (n) I "C" P participation in bourgeois political life is important because, accordingly with them, this is a field "where the Communists are almost completely absent". At first sight, we would feel tempted to think that this position was correct if it was not for the fact that the Maoists of the CARC and of the (n) I "C" P are not communists. Indeed, their anti-communist character can be observed in the manner they completely despise the necessity of illegal work: we searched throughout their hateful "country report" but we could not find a single word about the indispensability of illegal work and activities. And this while they display so many concerns about "the necessity of entering in bourgeois political struggle", that is, about the needing of legal work. Of course, this is unsurprising because only the authentic Marxist-Leninist parties are able to adopt and apply the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism relatively to illegal work. Being Maoist, the CARC and the (n) I "C" P are automatically revisionist and pro-capitalist organizations, and therefore we could never expect that they would embrace correct positions relatively to this matter. In his book "Imperialism and Revolution", comrade Enver Hoxha reflected not only about the necessity of illegal work, but also about the relation that must exist between illegal and legal work within a veritable communist party:

"The Marxist-Leninist parties are parties of revolution. Contrary to the theories and practices of the revisionist parties, which are totally immersed in bourgeois legality and

"parliamentary cretinism", they do not reduce their struggle to legal work, nor do they see this as their main activity. (...) they attach special importance to the combination of legal with illegal work, giving priority to the latter, as decisive for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the real guarantee of victory." (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

So, comrade Enver not only perceives illegal work as being an essential part of the activities of all genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, but he even expressly affirms that illegal work must have primacy over legal work. This makes a lot of sense because the authentic Marxist-Leninist parties are parties of the violent socialist revolution, they are parties of proletarian dictatorship, and not of bourgeois "democracy". However, the Italian Maoists are on the antipodes of this consistent revolutionary position and they do not even accept the necessity of illegal work (let alone recognizing its priority over legal work).

Concluding, the CARC and the (n) I "C" P are nothing more than counter-revolutionary organizations whose pathological reformism comes directly from their Maoist ideology. They undoubtedly provide a very instructive proof of how the deplorable state of the "communist" movement in Southern Europe is closely related with Maoist revisionism.

3.5 – Communist Organization of Greece (KOE)

Now it comes the turn of the "Communist" Organization of Greece (in Greek: *Kommunistiki Organosi Elladas*). We decided to include this organization in the DWM III because it provides an illustrative example of the Maoist Movement in a country – Greece – which has been making the headlines of the main newspapers in nearly all European countries. In fact, if Greece is nowadays facing bankruptcy, it was not put in this state of things by magical arts. Greece is among the most exploited countries in Europe, it is perhaps the European country which endures the severest pressure from foreign capitalist creditors (banks, etc...). Moreover, the Greek proletariat has suffered unimaginable horrors at the hands of the imperialists. During the Second World War, Greece was occupied by the Axis which killed large numbers of the Greek workers. When finally the WWII ended, the Axis occupation was replaced by that of Anglo-American imperialism, which caused the Greek Civil War (1946-1949), which was a fight between the monarcho-fascists who were on the side of the Anglo-American imperialism, and the progressive and communist forces that were on the side of the Greek people. The purpose of the Anglo-American exploiters was to prevent the Greek communists (who had been the main organizers of the struggle against the Axis) from attaining power. Finally, the Anglo-American imperialists emerged victorious from this war and installed a fascist puppet regime which would impose a savage exploitation over Greek proletarians during many decades.

The truth is that this defeat of the Greek communists in the Civil War had much to do with the serious ideological and tactical errors committed by them. In fact, during the Greek Civil War, the Communist Party of Greece was completely infiltrated by revisionist tendencies and by pro-bourgeois elements which were greatly responsible for its defeat. But if the Greek Civil War was even fought during comrade Stalin's lifetime, what kind of revisionism could have affected the CPG? As we will see, Maoism constituted a severe handicap to the victory of the CPG and it undoubtedly played an essential role in its defeat.

The years after the reactionary triumph in the Greek Civil War were characterized by an anti-communist reign of terror. Thousands of Greek communists were persecuted while many of the Greek islands were transformed into concentration camps where they were tortured to death. But despite all this, the Greek "communists" never managed to learn from the experiences provided by both the defeat in the Civil War and by the fascist repression – indeed, the Greek

“communist” movement continued to have a social bourgeois character.

In the 50's, with the ascension of Soviet revisionism, while the “C”PG fully embraced Khrushchev's anti-Stalinist betrayal, some groups started to supposedly “denounce” Soviet social-imperialism, to qualify themselves as “anti-revisionists” and to openly follow “Mao Zedong Thought”. Needless to say that these groups were the antecessors of the “C”OG, which was formed in the early 80's when the fascist form of bourgeois dominance in Greece had already been replaced by its “democratic” form.

As we already said, Greece has been news throughout Europe and many people who call themselves “revolutionaries” and even “communists” display an enormous enthusiasm over the “Greek situation”, claiming that it can allegedly give birth to an “European revolution”. But this is a false idea. It is an irrefutable fact that Greece can be considered as one of the weakest links of the European imperialist chain, and that the objective factors are totally ready for socialist revolution in that country. Unfortunately, the socialist revolution does not need only objective factors. It also equally needs the subjective factor, which still lacks among the Greek proletariat. This can be explained due to the pro-capitalist and revisionist-anarchistic nature of the Greek “revolutionary” movement. One of the best examples of this is precisely the “C”OG. As in many other countries, so in Greece, Maoism has been a serious obstacle to the fulfillment of the subjective factor of the socialist revolution.

In their official site, the Greek Maoists state that:

“The Communist Organization of Greece (KOE) is a popular, democratic and militant organization.”

(http://www.international.koel.gr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=31:who-we-are&catid=5:about-the-koe&Itemid=14, *About the KOE*, version in English)

As can be observed, the Greek Maoists clearly assume the reformist character of their organization. With this, we mean that the other Maoist parties are usually more ingenious in hiding their reactionarism by defining themselves as “Marxist-Leninist”, “anti-revisionist”, etc... (for example, the Colombian UOC even claimed to be and “exclusively proletarian organization”). But the Greek Maoists don't even waste their time trying to cover their social-fascism. They affirm to be “democratic” and “popular”, but to what kind of “democracy” are they referring to? Taking into consideration the inherent features of Maoism, we can only conclude that they are referring to a bourgeois-revisionist “democracy” under which the workers would be exploited through “popular” ways. This entirely corresponds to Mao's “new democracy” which excluded genuine socialism.

After this, the Greek Maoists affirm that:

“Our roots are in the Communist Movement of Greece (...).”

(http://www.international.koel.gr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=31:who-we-are&catid=5:about-the-koe&Itemid=14, *About the KOE*, version in English)

It is interesting to note that that Greek Maoists affirm this as if to have the Greek “Communist” Movement as an inspiration is an irrefutable guarantee of ideological reliability. As we had already explained, the Greek “Communist” Movement was thoroughly infiltrated by social-capitalist currents and elements; indeed, in what respects to the strategy and tactic it followed during the Greek Civil War, the Greek “Communist” Movement is an example of what **must not** be done. Comrade Enver Hoxha understood this and he even highlighted the abysmal differences between the Marxist-Leninist struggle of the PLA and the revisionist capitulation of

the Greek “communists”:

“Despite the innumerable difficulties we encountered on our road we scored success one after another. We achieved these successes, in the first place, because the Party thoroughly mastered the essence of the theory of Marx and Lenin, understood what the revolution was, who was making it and who had to lead it, understood that at the head of the working class, in alliance with the peasantry, there had to be a party of the Leninist type. (...)

This stand gave our Party the victory, gave the country the great political, economic and military strength it has today. Had we acted differently, had we not consistently applied these principles of our great theory, socialism could not have been built in a small country surrounded by enemies, as ours is.

Even if we had succeeded in taking power for a moment, the bourgeoisie would have seized it back again, as happened in Greece, where before the struggle had been won, the Greek Communist Party surrendered its weapons to the local reactionary bourgeoisie and British imperialism.” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

As we had noted, Maoist influences played a crucial role in this capitulationist attitude of the Greek “Communist” Party. Indeed, in an article entitled “The Influence of the Chinese Revolution in the Communist Movement of Greece”, the Greek Maoists state that:

“A conviction was born among the Greek communists and sympathizers, that the Chinese Red Army was invincible. During the occupation [of Greece, 1941-1944] and after, the CPC, its Army, as well as Mao became even more popular.

During the summer of 1946 up to early 1947, when the White Terror [in Greece] was in full swing, Rizospastis [the still legal CPG organ newspaper] published the famous guerrilla war principles which were formulated by Mao in his work A single spark can start a prairie fire (“when the enemy advances, we retreat” etc.). (...).”(http://www.international.koel.gr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=22:the-influence-of-the-chinese-revolution-on-the-communist-movement-of-greece-may-2006&catid=6:communist-movement&Itemid=6, *The influence of the Chinese Revolution on the Communist Movement of Greece*, 2006, version in English)

In face of the tremendous anti-socialist mistakes that ultimately led the Greek “communists” to their defeat in the Greek Civil War, we can say that the acknowledgement of the fact that they were being influenced by Mao’s social-fascism certainly explains a lot about the reasons behind that defeat. After all, as comrade Enver pointed out, only an authentically Marxist-Leninist party can be victorious against the forces of capital and reaction. From the moment it was contaminated by Maoism, the “Communist” Party of Greece had not the slightest chance of leading Greek people towards socialism and communism. And this because Mao fosters the famous “theory of the two lines” (the proletarian line and the bourgeois line) that, accordingly with him, must coexist within the “communist” parties and organizations:

“The existence of „two lines” is a product of the Mao Tsetung Ideas and totally incompatible with a Marxist-Leninist party which is based on the only proletarian line. The „Mao Tse-Tung Ideas” teaches the unity with the enemy, giving him the one hand and struggling against him with the other. These ideas are diametral contradictory with the Leninist Communist party as the organized troop and avant-garde which has only one monolithic line and only one iron unity of thought and act.” (Documents of the

Moreover, Mao's wicked movement of the "hundred flowers" also advocates unprincipled tolerance relatively to anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary theories. Therefore, it is not difficult to understand the intimate correlation between Maoist influence in the Greek "communist" movement and its defeat during the Civil War. Maoist social-fascist poison promoted the ideological and tactical capitulation of the Greek "communists" in benefit of the monarcho-fascists. As comrade Enver said, the Greek "communists" surrendered their weapons, that is, they voluntarily abandoned armed struggle against the imperialist-fascist oppressors. This act of surrendering their weapons to the capitalists is highly symbolic. In doing this, the Greek "communists" renounced to the possibility of implementing the proletarian dictatorship in Greece, what also corresponds to Mao's ultimate dream of banishing armed proletarian violence forever. Unfortunately for the Maoists, there is no force on earth which can prevent the outcome of socialism and communism. If the Maoists think that they will be able to convince the world proletarians to surrender their weapons to the capitalists as the Greek "communists" did, they are totally mistaken.

After analyzing how Maoist revisionism played a major role in the defeat of the anti-fascist forces during the Greek Civil War, we will now focus on another outstanding affirmation made by the Greek Maoists:

"Our theoretical base is Revolutionary Marxism, founded by Marx and Engels and enriched by Leninism and the works of Mao Zedong."

(http://www.international.koel.gr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=31:who-we-are&catid=5:about-the-koe&Itemid=14, *About the KOE*, version in English)

So, accordingly with the Greek Maoists, "revolutionary Marxism" is composed by the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Mao. Comrade Stalin is completely ignored and despised by them, who even replace him by the fascist Mao. This is an appalling insult to comrade Stalin's glorious name, to his brilliant work as leader of the heroic Soviet proletarian dictatorship and of the world communist movement. Comrade Stalin – the 4th Classic of Marxism-Leninism – is irreplaceable. His genial teachings are an inestimable treasure without which communist ideology is irremediably incomplete and unable to lead the world proletariat towards the definitive victory over capitalist-imperialist totalitarianism. All those who deny comrade Stalin's legacy are pro-capitalist, pro-imperialist and anti-socialist. Indeed, they reject Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism in its entirety, because to deny one Classic means to deny all Classics.

Of course that the Greek Maoists could not act otherwise because Maoism is the negation of Stalinism, the final objective of Maoist ideology is to destroy and annihilate Stalinist ideology. Maoism is related with Stalinism in the same manner that capitalism is related with socialism: they are irreconcilable opposites – wherever there's Maoism there cannot be Stalinism, just as wherever there is capitalism, there cannot be socialism.

It is also interesting to note that in the context of the present situation in Greece, the social-fascists of the "C"OG talk much about the "struggle against Germany's dikat". However, by denying comrade Stalin, the Greek Maoists are renouncing to an effective combat against German imperialism. And this because Comrade Stalin was the most successful and outstanding fighter against German imperialism of all times, he was the architect of Nazi defeat. It is not possible to efficiently combat German imperialism while refusing comrade Stalin's glorious teachings, but the Greek Maoists are totally oblivious to this unquestionable truth. Indeed, they pretend to combat one imperialism while relying on another, because Maoism was the ideology of foundation and development of Chinese imperialism which is nowadays on the verge of world domination. Therefore, all those who defend Maoism are also inescapably

supporting Chinese social-imperialism, because this is the logical and inevitable consequence of Maoism social-fascism.

And the Greek Maoists go on with their fervent anti-communism:

“What we are struggling for:

- **For Greece to be independent from imperialism and liberated from the yoke of all international organisms that impose misery and war. For the exit of Greece from NATO and EU, for the dissolution of all imperialist organizations, including the IMF, WTO, etc. (...)**

- **Against the policies of poverty, unemployment and dependence applied by both right-wing parties (...). For the social and democratic rights of our people, against the neoliberal raid and the "anti"-terrorist legislation.**

- **For the anti-imperialist/anti-capitalist orientation of the mass movement against the imperialist globalization and the war (...).**

- **Against nationalism-chauvinism and racism (...)."**

(http://www.international.koel.gr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=31:who-we-are&catid=5:about-the-koe&Itemid=14, *About the KOE*, version in English)

As can be concluded, Greek Maoists pretend to be much worried about things such as “the struggle against neoliberalism and war”, “the struggle against racism and chauvinism”, “the fight against poverty and unemployment”, “the dissolution of all imperialist organizations”, etc...But this is all an enormous masquerade, because all these things will always exist as long as capitalism exists. Therefore, the only manner to definitely abolish these evils is through the destruction of capitalism. Only in this way their inevitability can be prevented. But to destroy capitalism and all the harms which are inherent to it, it is necessary to faithfully follow and apply Marxism-Leninist-Stalinist-Hoxhaist ideology, which the Greek Maoists entirely deny.

Moreover, we must also note the stand of the Greek Maoists towards globalization. In fact, they affirm to be “against imperialist globalization”; indeed, they perceive globalization as being nothing more than a damaging occurrence which solely benefits imperialism. But this is not true. Although it may be highly noxious in its present capitalist form, globalization is the key which will allow the world proletariat to open the doors of the world socialist revolution towards world socialism and world communism. As the Platform of the Comintern (SH) states:

“Are we for or against globalization?

We are against capitalist globalization, however, absolutely for socialist globalization (strengthening the second trend of the universal law of socialism).

Our anti-capitalist struggle is not limited in the struggle against most extremely abuses of globalized capitalism. We are world-revolutionaries and not world-reformists! We fight in first line for the destruction of capitalism, not for capitalist reformism, neither on a global scale, nor on a national scale. (...)

As Stalinists-Hoxhaists we differ fundamentally from all the other opponents of

globalization, namely that we fight against the inevitability of capitalism. That's a huge and basic difference.” (Documents of the Comintern (S-H), *Platform – world programmatic declaration*, November, 2009, edition in English)

To say that globalization is something purely negative is to embrace petty-bourgeois reactionary nationalistic views which are in total opposition to the genuinely revolutionary Stalinist-Hoxhaist ideology.

Moreover, the Greek Maoists also support Mao's "100 flowers and 100 schools" theory:

“We say no to glasshouse “Marxism”. Marxists are not afraid of confronting wrong ideas. Only through this confrontation can Marxism be forged, invigorated and prevent revolution from “freezing”.”

(http://www.international.koel.gr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=22:the-influence-of-the-chinese-revolution-on-the-communist-movement-of-greece-may-2006&catid=6:communist-movement&Itemid=6, *The influence of the Chinese Revolution on the Communist Movement of Greece*, 2006, version in English)

With this statement, it is obvious that the social-fascists of the “C”OG are trying to justify the existence and preservation of bourgeois-revisionist ideologies and views. They depreciatively present the coherent and consistent Marxist-Leninist struggle against those ideologies and views as “glasshouse Marxism”. Instead, they defend that it is a positive thing that anti-Marxist ideas continue to exist and to spread among the workers, and that Marxism must enter in confrontation with those ideas. This is a totally opportunistic stand. Under genuine proletarian dictatorship, under genuine socialism, there cannot be “confrontation of ideas” as the bourgeois pluralist ideologues advocate. On the contrary, there can only be one ideology: Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism; and this revolutionary ideology must have absolute control and dominance over each aspect of workers' life and conscience. The more absolute control Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism holds over workers' minds and acts, the more difficult will be capitalist-revisionist restoration. That's precisely why Maoists propose this kind of bourgeois-pluralist garbage: because they ardently support capitalist-revisionist degeneration, because they want to condemn socialism to fail through preventing the proletarians from getting rid of reactionary and anti-communist influences. In his book “Imperialism and the Revolution”, comrade Enver makes a criticism which perfectly suits the positions of the Greek Maoists:

“The revisionist concepts of Mao Tsetung have their basis in the policy of collaboration and alliance with the bourgeoisie, which the Communist Party of China has always applied. This is also the source of the anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist course of «letting 100 flowers blossom and 100 schools contend», which is a direct expression of the coexistence of opposing ideologies.”

Such a course is alleged to be necessary for the development of Marxism, in order to open the way to debate and freedom of thought, while in reality, through this course, he is trying to lay the theoretical basis for the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie and coexistence with its ideology. (...)

Mao Tsetung says, «...it is a dangerous policy to prohibit people from coming into contact with the false, the ugly and the hostile to us, with idealism and metaphysics and with the thoughts of Confucius, Lao Tze and Chiang Kai-shek. It would lead to mental deterioration, one-track minds, and unpreparedness to face the world...». From this Mao Tsetung draws the conclusion that idealism, metaphysics and the bourgeois ideology will exist eternally, therefore not only must they not be prohibited, but they must be given the possibility to blossom, to come out in the open and contend. This conciliatory stand towards everything reactionary goes so far as to call disturbances in socialist society

inevitable and the prohibition of enemy activity mistaken. (...)” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

And as if all this was not enough, the Greek Maoists still have another “gift” for us: an open admission of the anarchistic tendencies which can be found throughout Maoist revisionism:

“Modern revisionism is permeated by statism. It reproduces the superstition of worshipping state, something which has nothing in common with the Marxist-Leninist view of proletarian power. It is afraid of the mobilization and spontaneity of the masses; it does not trust the masses and the working class. It depends on bureaucratic and administrative methods and increases the distance between the mechanisms and the masses.”

(http://www.international.koel.gr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=22:the-influence-of-the-chinese-revolution-on-the-communist-movement-of-greece-may-2006&catid=6:communist-movement&Itemid=6, *The influence of the Chinese Revolution on the Communist Movement of Greece*, 2006, version in English)

This alleged “struggle against worshipping state”, this “defense of the spontaneity of the masses” are typically anarchist. Everybody knows that the anarchists love to scream against “Stalinist statism” and against “Leninism bureaucratic despotism” which would supposedly “deny freedom to the masses”. These loathful pro-capitalist slogans are always used by them in their struggle against revolutionary Bolshevism. Therefore, just like happens with the anarchists, we can also easily perceive the hateful attacks which the Greek Maoists are launching against the necessity of a fierce proletarian power led by an authentically Marxist-Leninist party in accord with the iron rules of proletarian discipline and of democratic centralism. But this is quite expectable. Both Maoism and anarchism share characteristics which reveal the truth about their social-fascist nature - like anarchism, also Maoism denies:

- the proletarian dictatorship:

“Just as everyone should share what food there is, so there should be no monopoly of power by a single party, group or class.” (Mao Tsetung, *Selected Works*, vol. 3, p. 235, Albanian. edition)

- and the absolute and exclusive leadership of the communist party:

“We think that we should follow the principle of the long term coexistence and mutual control between the Communist Party and the democratic parties and groups.” (Liou Chao Chi, *Rapport politique du Comité central du Parti communiste chinois au VIIIe Congrès national du PCC*, Pékin, 1956, translated from French language)

“(...) the mutual control is not unilateral, the Communist Party will control the democratic parties and these democratic parties will equally control the Communist Party.” (Mao Zedong, *De la juste solution des contradictions au sein du peuple*, Textes choisis, Pékin, 1972, p. 509, translated from French language)

Relatively to these aspects of Maoist social-fascism, comrade Enver correctly remarked:

“Contrary to Lenin's theory, in regard to relations between the centre and the masses, Mao Tsetung opened fields for the spontaneous action of the masses in general and the working class in particular. As is known, Lenin did not permit spontaneity of action contrary to Marxist principles. According to Lenin, the actions of the masses and the class must be guided and directed by the Marxist party. Mao had the view that the

masses themselves, without the leadership of the working class and its party, and disregarding the principles of democratic centralism, must build their own life.” (...)

“The non-Marxist, eclectic, bourgeois political and ideological views of Mao Tsetung gave liberated China an unstable superstructure, a chaotic organization of the state and the economy which never achieved stability. China was in continuous disorder, even anarchic disorder, which was encouraged by Mao Tsetung himself with the slogan «things must first be stirred up in order to clarify them».”(Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China, Volume II*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

Mao’s “Cultural Revolution” was one of the epochs during which the anarchist influences inherent to Maoism appeared more clearly. In 1966, when this ultra-reactionary palace putsch was in its heyday, the Central Committee of the “Communist” Party of China affirmed:

“(...) the masses can only liberate themselves and we can never pretend to act in their place.” (*Decision of the Central Committee of the CPC about the Great Cultural Proletarian Revolution*, 8th August of 1966, Beijing, translated from French language)

As can be concluded, the similarities between this statement and the words of the Greek Maoists about the “mobilization and spontaneity of the masses” are striking. And the social-fascists of the “C”OG also openly defend the ultra-revisionist “Cultural Revolution”:

“Nowadays, there can be no Revolutionary Marxism without Maoism and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. We honor Mao Tsetung and the Chinese communists’ struggle, we honor the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (...).”
(http://www.international.koel.gr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=22:the-influence-of-the-chinese-revolution-on-the-communist-movement-of-greece-may-2006&catid=6:communist-movement&Itemid=6, *The influence of the Chinese Revolution on the Communist Movement of Greece*, 2006, version in English)

To this affirmation of the Greek Maoists, there can be no better answer than the one which is found within our own invincible Stalinist-Hoxhaist ideology:

“What about Mao and his “Culture-Revolution”? This revolution was neither socialist nor proletarian and is contrary to the October-Revolution and the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. It was neither led by a Bolshevik party, nor by the proletariat itself. It was an anarchist movement of parts of the army and the students against the Chinese proletariat.” (Documents of the Comintern (SH), *Neo-revisionism or Leninism?*, 2004, edition in English)

The truth is that hard times are waiting not only for the Greek Maoists, but also for all Maoists around the world. We, Stalinists-Hoxhaists, will make their lives a veritable hell. Maoist social-fascism represents a serious danger to the world socialist revolution and to the world proletarian dictatorship, and therefore we will not rest until both Maoism and the Maoists are definitively dead and buried.

3.6 - Workers’ Party of Belgium and the Russian All-Union Communist Party Bolsheviks

First of all, we must stress that the “W”PB (in French: *Parti du Travail de Belgique*) is not an explicitly Maoist party. However, it is a *de facto* pro-Maoist organization which has an **international leading role** and has united over 25 parties (!! all over the world (including on the African continent)).

In spite of the fact that the “W”PB is not admittedly Maoist, we could never let it go unmentioned in this article, because the Maoist parties “take advantage” of all those parties in the world who count Maoist parties by Marxist-Leninist parties. This is obviously a strengthening of the position of the Maoists and a weakening position of us Hoxhaists in our struggle against Maoism. Thus, “W”PB supports Maoism at least indirectly.

This is in our opinion part of the tactics of all the revisionists to unite against us Stalinist-Hoxhaists in our struggle against Maoism in particular and revisionism in general. **If we declare war against the Maoists then it is our duty to declare war also to those parties who help the Maoists in their struggle against us.**

The truth is that any reconciliation of comrade Enver Hoxha with the revisionist Mao Tsetung is consequently **a defense of Maoism and an attack against Hoxhaism**, and a party like the “W”PB which unites fifty (!) parties all over the world under the roof of this revisionist reconciliatory line is a great international support for all Maoist organizations in their struggle against Hoxhaism. The parties affiliated with the social-fascist “W”PB signed the resolution of 1999 in which they decided not to attack the “different anti-revisionist tendencies”, thus inclusively not to attack Maoism. This is the same line that the Maoist ICOR has followed, namely not to attack Maoism. This cannot be tolerated by true Marxist-Leninists.

Concluding, the “W”PB is a revisionist party which tries to reconcile revisionism with Marxism-Leninism under the disguise of “anti-revisionism”. *This is originally the basis of Chinese revisionism, a key-ideology of eclecticism of the Mao Tsetung Ideas. This is in essence the unity on the basis of the Chinese revisionist general-line of the communist world movement (Polemics, July 1963).*

And Ludo Martens, the famous late leader of the “W”PB, once affirmed that:

“Today, as a result of the restoration of capitalism under Gorbachov, the “pro-Soviet” tendency crumbled into innumerable tendencies. In the sixties, a “pro-Chinese” tendency emerged but split into various tendencies after Mao’s death. There has been a “pro-Albanian” tendency, which also split after the collapse of socialism in Albania, and a so-called “pro-Cuban” tendency, mainly in Latin America. Some parties, finally, maintained an “independent” position vis-a-vis the tendencies mentioned. Whatever one’s opinion about the correctness or the necessity of these splits at a certain point in history may be, it is nowadays possible to overcome these divisions and to unite the Marxist-Leninist parties, which are divided in different currents.” (Documents of the WPB, *Proposal for the unification of the international communist movement*, edition in English)

As if opportunistic and anti-socialist stand of “unity with everyone at any cost” was not enough to prove the ultra-reactionary nature of the “W”PB, in the 1999 Declaration of the International Communist Seminar, the leaders of this neo-revisionist party declared that **“Mao Zedong, Enver Hoxha and other eminent communist leaders, such as Kim Il Sung, Che Guevara and Ho Chi Minh**, brought their contribution to the struggle against revisionism, and that their anti-revisionist struggle prepared the ground for a renewal of the communist movement on genuinely revolutionary foundations.”

They referred also to the “victories of the international working-class and socialism in **the era of Lenin, Stalin and Mao (!!!)**” - what about the era of comrade Enver Hoxha, the 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism?

The social-fascists of the “W”PB pretend to “acknowledge” comrade Enver’s heroic anti-revisionist struggle in words, but they deny and despise it in deeds!

In fact, the revisionist Ludo Martens was always a staunch critic of comrade Enver. One of Enver’s books against which Martens directed his pro-capitalist hate was – unsurprisingly –

“Reflections about China”. Martens didn’t lose a single opportunity to discredit comrade Enver’s correct Marxist-Leninist stand against Maoism and once declared that “while criticizing the opportunistic deviations of the “C”P of China”, comrade Enver would allegedly adopt an “equally dangerous ultra-leftist phraseology”. But comrade Enver, the 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism, was and is well ahead of all the Ludo Martens of this world, and he had already predicted long time ago that these kind of “arguments” would be used by the revisionists. Therefore, in the same book “Reflections on China”, comrade Enver answered to this kind of pseudo-arguments with Leninist bravery:

“I have tried to be objective and correct in my analyses, regardless of the very strong terms I have sometimes used. But I think that things must be called by their proper names. (...)

In my notes I have written from time to time about many questions, some of them in harsh terms. Judging from the Marxist-Leninist angle, from the theoretical and practical experience and the Leninist organization of our Party, many political, ideological or organizational matters of the Communist Party of China, Mao Tsetung, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese revolution, and the various blows against deviationists, have seemed to me far from clear, and I have stressed this, indeed many times I have used harsh terms about them. This I have done because my communist consciousness, the experience of the Party, and study of the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism did not allow me to use gentler terms in the face of many confused and dubious situations. Then, frequently, filled with anger when I saw and read all these things which were being done to the detriment of Marxism-Leninism and the cause of the proletariat, I have poured out my feelings in this diary of mine (...).”(Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China, Volume II*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

In what respects to the Russian All-Union Communist Party Bolsheviks (the *Vsesoyuznaya Kommunisticheskaya Partiya bol'shevikov* led by Nina Andrejewna), this is an organization which has close ties with the “W”TB. The AU“C”PB has much influence on other Maoist parties in Europe and all over the world, and it is known by its unwaveringly anti-communist support for the social-fascist leadership of North Korea. The AUCPB is inclusively the main organization which tries to restore social-imperialism and social-fascism in Russia and which has most influence within the former countries of the Soviet Union.

It is an irrefutable fact that declarations of war against Maoism are useless if we do not simultaneously combat all the parties who try to reconcile with Maoism. **Consequently, the Comintern (SH) declares war against all forces over the worlds which reconcile Maoism and Hoxhaism. This principle is indispensable and immanent part of our Declaration of War against Maoism.**

4 – Asian continent

Asia is perhaps the continent which is most affected by Maoist revisionism. This is nothing surprising, since Asia is the continent where Maoism first appeared. In fact, the influence of Maoist social-fascism over Asian proletariat is so intense that we can affirm that Maoism is one of the main – if not the main – obstacle to socialist revolution in Asia. This is a very grave situation because Asia is the most populated region in the world; it is an almost infinite source of proletarian militants for the future world socialist revolution.

If we analyze Asia’s recent history, there are so many examples of Maoist counter-revolutionary activities that it is difficult to know where to start. First of all, we have the “Communist” Party of China and the Maoist 1949 Chinese “revolution”, whose origins, causes and consequences we have already analyzed in

DWM I and DWM II. Therefore, we will only say that the 1949 Chinese “revolution” continues to mislead many workers due to its false “socialist” mask. Of course that the Asian workers are among those who are most deceived by this phony “revolution”, even because Maoism opportunistically claims to be “Marxism-Leninism adapted to Asia’s conditions”. Therefore, it is quite understandable that many Asian workers and movements fell under Maoism’s anti-socialist sway. This is what happens for example with the Indian Naxalites and with the Maoist guerrillas operating in the Philippines, not to mention the bloodthirsty crimes committed by the counter-revolutionary Maoist organization “Khmer Rouge” in Cambodia and which are still nowadays used by the world bourgeoisie to discredit our glorious communist ideology. Unfortunately, the workers who support these terrorist movements still think that they are following genuinely revolutionary organizations.

Obviously, there is no lack of Maoist parties and organizations in Asia. Only in India there are dozens of them. Asian Maoists are totally dedicated to detach Asian workers from a truly revolutionary path, and they have publicly declared to be against the formation of a new Communist International:

“Remember the Chinese Communist Party never advocated the formation of an International (...). History remembers that despite the achievement of C.P.C under Mao, the party did not go towards establishing the Communist International or establishing an International Organization. Instead it stressed for the Communist Parties of the camp to apply the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism in the concrete situation of their country. It emphasized that other countries should not copy the Chinese Experience but apply the Chinese experience in accordance to their own condition.

The main reason for the C.P.C’s caution was devising through local regimes new forms of neo-colonial rule and only a native communist party could analyze and review such situations. An outside force could not grasp the concrete reality. Thus the necessity of political independence of each country’s communist party.”

(http://democracyandclasstruggle.blogspot.com/2011_12_01_archive.html, *A New Communist International? The thoughts of Comrade Harsh Thakor*, December, 2011, edition in English)

As can be observed, the Asian Maoists use the pretext of “the independence of each Communist Party” and of the “concrete situation in each country” to deny the necessity of the formation of a new Communist International. Of course that these arguments used by the Maoists are not in the least valid. It is true that each country has its own specific conditions that must be taken into consideration by the Communist Party. However, the general principles and main foundations of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism, the lessons and scientific rules taken from the Soviet Union of comrades Lenin and Stalin and from socialist Albania of comrade Enver Hoxha are applicable and must be accomplished everywhere, in all countries and regions without exception. It is crystal clear that, with this attack, the Asian Maoists are trying to discredit the formation of our Communist International (SH). But there are no obstacles which can prevent us, Stalinists-Hoxhaists, from proving to the Asian working masses that Maoism is nothing more than a pro-capitalist ideology and we will do our utmost to conquer Asian exploited workers to the side of our invincible anti-revisionist proletarian ideology. We will not spare efforts to liberate Asia proletariat from noxious Maoist ideology. With this in mind, we sincerely hope that our reflections about Asian Maoism are able to serve this noble purpose.

4.1 – Bolshevik Party of North-Kurdistan - Turkey

The “B” PT is one of the main Maoist organizations in Turkey. Its name – which includes the word “Bolshevik” – is a clear intent to mislead the Turkish workers by trying to convince them that the “B” PT is a genuine communist party. Moreover, as Turkey is a fascist state whose bourgeoisie has illegalized the “B”PT, this contributes to give the Turkish Maoists a somewhat “anti-fascist” and “radical” appearance. This is a very grave situation because the immense majority of Turkish workers lack socialist conscience and formation. In this manner, they easily believe in the Maoist charlatans that claim to be “Marxist-Leninists”. In truth, if we take a look to the “participation” of the Turkish Maoists at the ICMLPO’s 7th Conference, we will conclude that, far from being a truly Bolshevik party, the “B” PT is nothing more than an anti-Marxist social-fascist organization. The Turkish Maoists start by describing some of the

characteristics of their country, after which they present their ultra-revisionist standpoints:

“In its first stage the revolution in Turkey/North Kurdistan will be an anti-imperialist, anti-fascist, new-democratic one.”(ICMLPO, *International Newsletter*, n° 33, July, 2007, edition in English)

As can be seen, the Turkish Maoists don't hesitate before defending Mao's theory of the “two revolutions”. According to Mao, the “revolution” is divided in two stages: the bourgeois anti-imperialist stage and the “socialist” stage. Of course, the purpose of the first stage is to ensure that the second stage will never happen, because Mao explicitly supports the development and encouragement of capitalist exploitative elements during the first “democratic” stage, thus granting the formation, consolidation and preservation of the new bourgeois dictatorship. And Mao even tries to present this ultra-revisionist theory as being a “Marxist law”:

« It is not possible to achieve socialism without passing through the democratic (read: bourgeois) stage, this is a Marxist law. » (Mao Zedong, *Du gouvernement de coalition, Oeuvres choisies*, Pékin, 1968, t. III, p. 246, translated from French language)

Relatively to this “theory of the two revolutions”, comrade Enver remarked that:

“Mao Tsetung was never able to understand and explain correctly the close links between the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the proletarian revolution. Contrary to the Marxist-Leninist theory, which has proved scientifically that there is no Chinese wall between the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, that these two revolutions do not have to be divided from each other by a long period of time, Mao Tsetung asserted: «The transformation of our revolution into socialist revolution is a matter of the future... As to when the transition will take place. It may take quite a long time. We should not hold forth about this transition until all the necessary political and economic conditions are present and until it is advantageous and not detrimental to the overwhelming majority of our people». Mao Tsetung adhered to this anti-Marxist concept, which is not for the transformation of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into socialist revolution (...).”(Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

To affirm that it is impossible to make a socialist revolution and to construct socialism without passing through a capitalist stage means to defend the preservation of capitalist exploitation. Comrade Lenin taught us that:

“(...) with the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries, the backward countries can construct a Soviet regime and also (...) a communist society while avoiding the capitalist stage.” (Lenin, *IIIe Congrès de l'Internationale communiste, Oeuvres*, volume 31, p. 252, translated from French language)

In fact, the Maoists falsely claim that “the first stage will not lead to capitalist perpetuation because only small/medium capitalists will be allowed”. This argument is completely fallacious. The Classics of Marxism-Leninism teach us that small property inevitably originates monopolist property and that so-called “petty capitalism” inevitably originates monopolist capitalism. This was indeed the case with Maoist China, where after having defeated the bourgeoisie of the comprador type, the Chinese national bourgeoisie managed to transform itself into a monopolist bourgeoisie of the social-fascist type through controlling Chinese revisionist state.

Concluding, when the Turkish Maoists say that the “revolution” must undergo an “anti-imperialist, newly-democratic” stage, they indeed mean that they are against socialist revolution, that they will do their utmost to grant the maintenance of capitalism through keeping state power firmly in the hands of the “patriotic” bourgeoisie. This is what the Turkish Maoists mean when they ridiculously refer to the “anti-imperialist revolution”.

After this, the social-fascists of the “B”TP state that:

“It is still a fact:

*** that US imperialism is aggressive and expansionist;**

*** that it acts like a world policeman;**

*** that it invades countries – as in Afghanistan and Iraq – and occupies them;**

*** that it builds up further military bases everywhere – in the Middle East, in the Philippines, in Afghanistan, etc. – to translate its plans for world hegemony into action;**

US imperialism undoubtedly is the biggest imperialist power today, as regards economic power and also military and political power, and it fights to gain sole world hegemony.”(ICMLPO, *International Newsletter*, n° 33, July, 2007, edition in English)

This affirmation was true some years ago, but nowadays U.S Imperialism shares the role of main imperialist power with Chinese social-imperialism, whose origins can be found precisely within Maoism. The Turkish Maoists admit that “Chinese imperialism is growing”, but they affirm this insinuating that Chinese social-imperialism has nothing to do with “Mao Zedong Thought”, but this is not true. The ascension of Chinese imperialism is the logical consequence of Mao’s ideology and principles which support that the bourgeoisie must have freedom of action and must continue dominating the entire political-social-economic order. As the final purpose of every bourgeoisie is to maximize profits, it is not difficult to understand why the Chinese bourgeoisie struggled to control state power and to transform China into an imperialist superpower. To deny this means to be totally submerged in an anti-communist delirium.

So, the Turkish Maoists not only deny that Chinese social-imperialism is today one of the main enemies of world workers and that it has the same military-economic level of U.S Imperialism, but they also try to treacherously present Maoism as having nothing to do with it.

And as if this was not enough, the Turkish Maoists try to create an artificial contradiction between the struggle against foreign imperialism and the struggle against Turkish fascist state:

“Turkey is a client country of imperialism. It is not occupied by the imperialist powers (...) – this is mainly US and German imperialism. (...) it is our view that it is wrong to portray US imperialism alone, still the Number 1 among the dominating imperialist powers in Turkey, as the main enemy. In Turkey/North Kurdistan the main enemy of the peoples is the fascist Turkish state.

(...) In their struggles the workers, peasants and other working people are confronted by the Turkish state machinery as main enemy, not by the US state machine, not by US military, police, judiciary, etc. Fascism in Turkey is not practiced by US imperialism but by the Turkish state!”
(ICMLPO, *International Newsletter*, n° 33, July, 2007, edition in English)

Therefore, the Turkish Maoists affirm that Turkey is a capitalist state of fascist type which is dependant on foreign imperialism, but they also declare that the main enemy of the Turkish people is Turkish fascist state. They try to fabricate a contradiction between the struggles against both enemies as if they had absolutely no links between them, as if foreign imperialism has nothing to do with the dominion of the Turkish fascist bourgeoisie. In truth, the Turkish Maoists are presenting the situation as if Turkish workers have to make an option: or they struggle against foreign imperialism or they struggle against Turkish fascist bourgeoisie. This view is completely false and counter-revolutionary. Presently, the bourgeoisie which rules Turkey through fascist means belongs to the comprador type. It sells Turkey’s resources to foreign imperialisms in exchange for some profits and privileges. Therefore, the combat against Turkish fascist bourgeoisie and the struggle against U.S and German imperialism are indivisible between them. Both struggles form a sole unit. One cannot exist without the other, because foreign imperialisms supports Turkish fascist dominant classes and these last ones rely on those imperialisms to be kept in power. As comrade Enver Hoxha firmly stated:

“The Chinese revisionist leadership forgets that the unity of these national states can be

ensured only through the struggle of the proletariat and the working masses of each particular country, in the first place, against the external imperialism which has penetrated into that country, but also against the internal capitalism and reaction.” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

These words from Enver relatively to the Chinese revisionists perfectly suit Turkish Maoists. Indeed, Turkish workers must combat simultaneously both American imperialism and the Turkish fascist bourgeoisie. And this is what the Maoists of the “B”PT should defend if they were true revolutionaries and not mere social-fascists.

As for the phony claims of the Turkish Maoists that their party is illegal because of its alleged “socialist anti-fascism”, it is not difficult to see the true reason behind the illegalization of the “B”PT by the Turkish fascist state: the bourgeoisie comprador which controls this state recognizes the “B”PT as the representative of another section of the Turkish bourgeoisie which rivals with it for the dominance of political-economic power in the country. The Turkish Maoists are the representatives of the Turkish national bourgeoisie which wants to overthrow the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie which currently rules the country. Consequently, the claims of the Turkish Maoists that their party is illegal because “it is a veritable Marxist-Leninist party” which allegedly defies “Turkish fascism” are totally false.

And lastly, the social-fascists of the “B”PT even refer the world socialist revolution from their Maoist point of view. They affirm that:

“(...) the world revolutionary process is the sum of non-simultaneous SOCIALIST REVOLUTIONS in the imperialist countries and anti-imperialist NEW-DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONS in the oppressed countries.” (ICMLPO, *International Newsletter*, n° 33, July, 2007, edition in English)

This statement is very similar to an affirmation made by the Chilean and American Maoists in the joint document we analyzed previously in this article. Therefore, we will only repeat that to maintain capitalist relations and elements in one part of the present globalized world (the so-called oppressed countries) automatically denies the socialist character of Maoist fake “world revolution”. The talks of the Turkish Maoists about “socialist revolution in developed countries” are all lies. The capitalist-bourgeois nature of the “New Democratic revolutions” occurring in the oppressed nations invalidates the safety and definitiveness of socialist construction in the rest of the world (the so-called developed countries). At least, this is the case in the context of the current globalization.

Moreover, we note that the Turkish Maoists are rejecting the Hoxhaist teaching that even an oppressed, semi-feudal and backward country can effectively advance towards socialist revolution and towards the construction of a socialist society without having to pass through a capitalist-bourgeois “New Democratic” stage:

“The Albanian experience proves that even a small country with a backward material and technical base can experiment a great and general economic and cultural development, can grant its independence and can also defeat the attacks of world capitalism and imperialism if that country is conducted by a veritable Marxist-Leninist party, if that country is decided to fight until the end for its ideals having confidence in their achievement.” (Enver Hoxha, *Report to the VIII Congress of the PTA*, Tirana, 1981, translated from the French language)

This unquestionable truth is one of the main principles of Hoxhaism. By refusing it, the Turkish Maoists are rejecting Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism in its entirety, because to deny the teachings of one of the Classics means to deny the teachings of all the other Classics of Marxism-Leninism, and this means to deny communist ideology in itself. But this is just what the Turkish Maoist do, thus fully revealing their veritable class character.

For all this reasons, it is time for the Turkish workers in general and to the Turkish proletariat in particular to awake and to reject Maoism social-fascism, thus understanding that the founding of a truly Stalinist-Hoxhaist party in Turkey is the only manner to definitively abolish all the evils which are

inherent to capitalist-imperialist world rule.

4.2 – Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)

The “Communist” Party of India (“Marxist-Leninist”) is one of the most famous Maoist parties in the world due to its dimensions and also due to its close relations with the anarchist-terrorist Naxalite movement, whose activities are used by the world bourgeoisie in general and by the Indian bourgeoisie in particular to discredit communist ideology in front of the toiling masses. Indeed, the “C”PI (“ML”) has an enormous influence within the world movement of Maoism - which can be proved by their activities within the ICOR.

Just like happens with many other Maoist parties, the “C” PI (“ML”) has a very “revolutionary” and “Marxist” appearance that completely falls apart when we reflect about the party’s ideological principles.

In fact, the revisionist and social-bourgeois nature of the “C”PI (“ML”) can be easily perceived in the party’s documents:

“Under the neo-liberal regime hundreds of thousands of industrial units were closed down, the public sector enterprises were fully or almost privatized, (...) education, health-care, etc. are privatized and being made beyond the reach of common people, prices of essential commodities are soaring up (...).

In this situation only the communist revolutionary forces who uncompromisingly oppose all ruling class policies including imperialist globalization can provide leadership to the struggle against imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois classes and the landlord classes and the political parties representing them.” (ICMLPO, *International Newsletter*, n° 33, July, 2007, edition in English)

This statement is typically reformist and social-democratic. Accordingly with the Indian Maoists, neoliberalism, privatizations, etc... are the sole enemies. Here we see the tendency inherent to Maoism of keeping popular demands within the limits of a bourgeois welfare state, of keeping the workers’ struggle confined to some alms given by the bourgeoisie. The Indian Maoists are not in the least worried about the definitive and complete destruction of capitalism. All that they want is to pretend to “combat” a form of capitalism: neoliberalism. And their claims about “health care”, “prices soaring”, etc... reveal the true objectives of the Maoists: they want to establish a “civilized” capitalism with a “socialist” mask only to deceive the workers, convincing them that there is no need to adhere to an authentically revolutionary socialist ideology: after all, in this “tamed” capitalism planned by the Maoists, the workers would have “everything”: health care, low prices, etc... Of course that wage slavery and exploitation would continue under “leftist” disguises. Indeed, it is interesting to note the position of the Indian Maoists relatively to private property, because they scream against “privatizations” as if there could ever be genuine social property under a capitalist state such as that which presently rules India. Under capitalism, property is always private, no matter if it is assumedly private or if it belongs to the state capitalist bourgeoisie and uses a “public” disguise. This kind of apparently “public” property which in fact is under the private control of the state capitalist bourgeoisie is what the Maoists really defend. This “public” property is much more deceitful and treacherous than the openly private property, because it creates in the proletariat the false impression that capitalist private property has been abolished, when the truth is that it continues alive and of good health. Anyway, it is not at all astonishing that the Indian Maoists criticize privatizations. They do it because they relate privatizations with the interests of foreign imperialisms in India and with the interests of the Indian bourgeoisie comprador, that is, they relate it with the interests of the section of Indian bourgeoisie which they aim to combat. In truth, Maoists try to give a “progressive” and even “leftist” color to these intents, thus inculcating in the Indian workers the false idea that the interests of the Indian national bourgeoisie are also their own, that they must exclusively focus on combating “neoliberal foreign imperialism”. This situation is very serious, even because this same Indian national bourgeoisie is nowadays successfully consolidating India’s positions as a new imperialist power.

And the Indian Maoists continue with their anti-communist zeal:

“The CPI (ML) which upholds Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought (...) is committed to complete the New Democratic Revolution. The task before the party in the stage of the New Democratic Revolution is to overthrow the rule of comprador bureaucratic bourgeois-landlord classes serving imperialism and to replace the present reactionary Indian state with the New Democratic or People Democratic state led by the proletariat (...).”(ICMLPO, *International Newsletter*, n° 33, July, 2007, edition in English)

It is crystal clear that the empty talks of the Indian Maoists about the supposed “leadership of the Indian proletariat” in the “new democratic revolution” are nothing more than revisionist shibboleths. The preservation of bourgeois domination and dictatorship and of capitalist exploitation are inherent to Mao’s concept of “New Democracy”, because according to Mao himself, the national bourgeoisie will continue to have total freedom for controlling the major means of production and to utilize the “state of new democracy” as an instrument of its class despotism:

“Mao Zedong was for the unrestricted free development of capitalism in China in the period of the state of the type of «new democracy», (...). At the 7th Congress of the CPC he said, «Some think that the communists are against the development of private initiative, against the development of private capital, against the protection of private property. In reality, this is not so. The task of the order of new democracy, which we are striving to establish, is precisely to ensure the possibility for broad circles of Chinese to freely develop their private initiative in society, to freely develop the private capitalist economy.” (Enver Hoxha, *Eurocommunism is Anti-communism*, Tirana, 1980, edition in English)

From the moment bourgeois-capitalist domination is not abolished, the proletariat and the workers can never implement genuine socialism nor in India or in China, nor anywhere around the world. And the Indian Maoists even dare to explicitly support the union of the Indian proletarians with the imperialist policies of the Indian national bourgeoisie:

“Strategic united front of all revolutionary classes and forces (...) as well as necessary tactical united fronts should be developed for furthering the people's revolutionary movement.” (ICMLPO, *International Newsletter*, n° 33, July, 2007, edition in English)

This affirmation from the social-fascists of the “C”PI (“ML”) corresponds almost word by word with a very famous statement from Mao:

“No matter what classes, parties or individuals in an oppressed nation join the revolution, and no matter whether they themselves are conscious of the point or understand it, so long as they oppose imperialism, their revolution becomes part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution and they become its allies.” (Mao Zedong, *New Democracy*, January of 1940, edition in English)

These declarations clearly reveal the commitment of the Maoists to prevent socialist revolution by promoting the subjugation of the workers to the bourgeoisie with the purpose of safeguarding capitalist private property and productive social relations, thus perpetuating exploitative political-economic order. This is what the hateful “peoples’ revolutionary movement” of the Maoists is all about.

Besides this, there is still the Naxalite question. In the DWM II, we had already reflected about the anti-communist character of the Indian Naxalites. We will only add that the entire Naxalite movement is intimately related with the “C”PI (“ML”), because the Naxalite movement was founded by the leaders of the “C”PI (“ML”) and, therefore, the social-capitalist ideological stands of the “C”PI (“ML”) are the same of those held by the Naxalites. The truth is that the Naxalites are nothing more than the armed section of the Indian national bourgeoisie trying to defeat the influences of the Indian bourgeoisie comprador. The Indian Maoists claim that “the Naxalites are composed by working people from the lowest classes”, but even if this is truth, it does not change anything. On the contrary, it only shows that Indian Maoism is exercising a noxious influence over the most exploited sections of Indian working masses, that is, over the ones which should constitute the vanguard of the Indian oppressed classes. Instead of following Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism and of preparing the Indian proletariat to be a valiant detachment

of the future world proletarian red army, the ultra-exploited branches of the Indian workers are being misled and attracted by Maoist social-fascism to serve the imperialist interests of the Indian national bourgeoisie.

This situation is unbearable and constitutes a grave obstacle to the world socialist revolution because India is one of the greatest world sources of proletarian workforce, it is a highly unequal country where the Indian toiling masses live in the most abject misery. Therefore, India is undoubtedly among the regions over which we, Stalinists-Hoxhaists, must primarily focus our revolutionary work with the purpose of conquering the ultra-exploited Indian proletariat to our anti-revisionist side.

But to accomplish this, we have to make the Indian workers understand that the “C”PI (“ML”) and the Naxalites are social-fascists and social-bourgeois organizations whose only aim is to benefit and advance the imperialist interests of the Indian national bourgeoisie while maintaining Indian proletarians subjected to the harshest exploitation through using “anti-imperialist” and “progressive” excuses to detach them from the path of genuine communist ideology, from the path of authentic socialist revolution. We hope that this short analysis of the reactionary character of the “C”PI (“ML”) will help those Indian proletarians to get rid of the venomous anti-communist influences of the Indian Maoists.

4.3 – Communist Party of the Philippines

The “Communist” Party of the Philippines is one of the most deceitful Maoist parties in the world. In truth, Philippine Maoists managed to fabricate a “revolutionary” aura around them due to the fact that the “C”PP is engaged in an armed struggle against the country’s pro-American puppet government. This situation gravely misleads world workers in general, and Philippine workers in particular, who wrongly see the “C”PP as a genuine socialist party. The world bourgeoisie also plays a great role in presenting the “C”PP as an “hard-line communist group”, thus inculcating in the proletariat the false idea that Philippine Maoists are authentic anti-capitalist revolutionaries. This is completely false. Just like the other Maoist parties, the “C”PP is a mere counter-revolutionary and anti-socialist organization which aims to keep Philippine workers subjected to wage slavery and bourgeois despotism.

The archipelago of the Philippines is among the poorest and most exploited countries of the planet. After having been a Spanish colony, the Philippines became a neo-colony of the American imperialists, who dominated and continue to dominate the entire political-economic system of the Philippines in benefit of the American monstrous corporations which take immense superprofits from the exploitation of Philippines’ resources and workforce. One of the best examples of this domination was the imposition of the fascist dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos, who exercised an excruciating repression over Philippine proletariat while accumulating an incalculable personal fortune through serving the interests of the American plutocrats. In the late 80’s, Marcos’ clique was ousted from power but his continuers still rule Philippines in favor of the interests of the pro-American bourgeoisie comprador. Of course, like happens in many other countries, so in the Philippines, the Maoists represent the interests of the Philippine national bourgeoisie which is deprived from the control of the main means of production because of the dominion of the pro-American bourgeoisie comprador. In face of this, the Philippine Maoists do their utmost to hide the fact that far from struggling for the overthrow of the entire oppressive order, they only pretend to replace a certain branch of the exploiters by another. With this purpose, the social-fascists of the “C”PP try to depict their defense of the Philippine national bourgeoisie as “anti-imperialism”:

“This political programme must serve to weld together the broadest unity of progressive forces and groups to isolate US imperialism and the die-hard reactionaries, composed of the comprador bourgeoisie (...).”

(<http://www.philippinerevolution.net/documents/rectify-errors-rebuild-the-party>, *Rectify Errors, Rebuild the Party!*, December, 1968, edition in English)

“Let us broaden our revolutionary united front and fight US imperialism and the Aquino regime.”

(<http://www.philippinerevolution.net/statements/broaden-our-ranks-and-advance-the-revolutionary-armed-struggle-against-us-imperialism-and-the-aquino-regime>, *Persevere in advancing the NDFP 12-*

Point Program, the only viable alternative to the anti-people program of the US-Aquino regime, April, 2012, edition in English)

“4. (...) the revolutionary armed struggle and mass movement in Mindanao focus against the brutal (...) suppression campaign of the US-Aquino regime and against those multi-national companies that prevent the people from realizing their aspiration for agrarian reform and national industrialization.” (<http://www.philippinerevolution.net/statements/broaden-our-ranks-and-advance-the-revolutionary-armed-struggle-against-us-imperialism-and-the-aquino-regime>, *Persevere in advancing the NDFP 12-Point Program, the only viable alternative to the anti-people program of the US-Aquino regime*, April, 2012, edition in English)

These statements are clearly aimed at presenting American imperialism and the multinational foreign corporations as being the only enemies of Philippine people. Through this, the social-fascists of the “C”PP try to conquer Philippine toiling masses to the side of the national bourgeoisie, because American imperialism holds an almost exclusive control over the Philippines. Consequently, by promoting and encouraging the struggle against foreign imperialism in general and against American imperialism in particular, the Philippine Maoists are once again doing their utmost to cover the greedy intentions of the Philippine national bourgeoisie with “anti-imperialist” and even “progressive” masks. They do this in order to make Philippine workers forget that all sections of the bourgeoisie are equally exploitative and repressive, and that all of them without exception must be totally eliminated, including the national “patriotic” bourgeoisie, of course.

Moreover, the “C”PP explicitly upholds the most anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary theories ever put forward by Mao:

“The Communist Party of the Philippines must rely on peasant revolutionary bases to defeat the reactionary state power in the countryside before capturing the cities. Comrade Mao Tsetung has extensively shown with genius in theory and in practice how the countryside can encircle the cities (...). The universal truth of the theory of using the countryside to encircle the city has been proven invincible.

The theory of people’s war is universal and applies to Philippine conditions. (...) The cities are actually the bastions of bourgeois state power before the people’s democratic forces develop the capability of capturing them. The counter-revolutionary army must first be defeated in the countryside.” (<http://www.philippinerevolution.net/documents/rectify-errors-rebuild-the-party>, *Rectify Errors, Rebuild the Party!*, December, 1968, edition in English)

The Maoist concepts of “peasant revolutionary war” and of “encirclement of the cities by the countryside” were already thoroughly explained and unmasked in the DWM I and DWM II. They are expressions of Mao’s denial of the hegemonic role of the proletariat in the revolution and its alleged replacement by the peasantry. Therefore, we will only recall the words of the authentic Marxist-Leninists about:

- Mao’s peasant “revolution”:

“The Mao Zedong though was always opposed in theory and in practice to the correct Leninist idea that during the epoch of imperialism, in each revolution - be it democratic, anti-imperialist, of national liberation or socialist – the leadership must belong to the proletariat. Mao based the struggle against Japanese occupiers on the peasantry. In the same manner, he did not see the regime of new democracy as the power of the working class, but of the peasantry. After the liberation in 1949 and during the stage in which socialism was allegedly being built on China, the proletariat was invariably deprived of its hegemonic role (...).” (Naun Guxho, *La Pensée MaoTseToung, theorie et pratique antiproletariennes*, 1979, translated from the French language)

“In his theoretical writings Mao Tsetung says that China could not have been liberated without the leadership of the peasantry, that the revolution in China was a peasant revolution. According to

him, the peasantry was the most revolutionary class, that it had to lead the revolution «and did lead the revolution». This is a major theoretical error on the part of Mao Tsetung and shows that he was not a Marxist-Leninist but an eclectic and a bourgeois-democrat. Mao Tsetung, as a progressive democrat, was for a bourgeois-democratic revolution, and when China was liberated, he clung to the same views. According to his views, the peasantry was the leading force and the working class had to be its ally (...). Mao Tsetung wanted to transform this bourgeois democratic theory of his into a universal theory and, in fact, this «theory» was called «Mao Tsetung thought».”(Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China, Volume II*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

- Mao's theory of the “encirclement of the city by the countryside”:

“Mao formulated and defended non-Marxist theses such as that which is stressed in his obituary: «The countryside must encircle the city». His obituary stresses that, -«without acting in this way the revolution cannot be carried out»! This means that the peasantry has to lead the proletarian revolution. This thesis is anti-Leninist. (...)

From a long time back we have not been in agreement with the views of Mao Tsetung, especially with his saying that «the countryside must encircle the city». We, as Marxist-Leninist, have never accepted this view of Mao Tsetung's because in this way Mao Tsetung considers the peasantry the most revolutionary class. This is an anti-Marxist view. The most revolutionary class of society is the proletariat, therefore it must lead the revolution in alliance with the peasantry, which is the most faithful ally of the proletariat.” (Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China, Volume II*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

“Mao Zedong's thesis of surrounding the cities by the countryside is not simply the description of the course of the military operations in China's liberation war. To the contrary, it is a cover for definite anti-Marxist-Leninist theories which negate the hegemony of the proletariat and the role of the cities in the revolution. No, “Mao's road” of encircling the cities from the countryside is a diabolical theory of distrust of the proletariat which replaces proletarian hegemony in the revolution with that of the peasantry. This theory that in China the revolution could do without the urban proletariat and that the revolution didn't have to be organized in the cities simultaneously with the work in the countryside, is another ugly manifestation of the pragmatism of Mao Zedong Thought. This road was not illuminated by Marxism-Leninism. Quite the opposite. (...)

Thus, for Mao, it was only the rural areas and the peasantry which were “indispensable, vital positions of the Chinese revolution” whereas the cities and the proletariat were of less consequence or of no consequence at all and were to take a back seat and wait for liberation to be brought to them from the peasantry! Of course, nowhere do the Chinese give a serious argument for this line which is diametrically opposed to Marxism-Leninism, to the experience of the October Revolution, to the correct advice of Stalin, etc. No, this anti-Marxist line is justified with idiotic dithyrambs such as “revolutionary villages can encircle the cities, but revolutionary cities cannot detach themselves from the villages”!” (Documents of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement of comrade Enver Hoxha, *U.S. Neo-Revisionism as the American Expression of the International Opportunist Trend of Chinese Revisionism*, Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists, 1979, edition in English)

The embracement of this kind of social-bourgeois “theories” is totally in agreement with the aims of the “C”PP:

“Let us build the broadest possible alliance and mobilize the biggest number of people in democratic and anti-imperialist mass struggles (...). Let us gather the broadest possible support for (...) the people's mass struggles.” (<http://www.philippinerevolution.net/statements/set-sights-on-intensifying-the-people-s-anti-imperialist-and-democratic-struggles-as-we-mark-the-39th-anniversary-of-the-ndfp>, *Set sights on intensifying the people's anti-imperialist and democratic struggles as we mark the 39th anniversary of the NDFP*, April, 2012, edition in English)

These references to the “biggest number of people” and to the “broadest alliance” are clear signs of the opportunistic and pragmatic nature of the Philippine Maoists, for whom the anti-imperialist struggle must be a Russian salad which will include all kinds of reactionaries and which will promote the interests of the Philippine national bourgeoisie while preventing that same anti-imperialist struggle from advancing towards an authentically revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist combat against all kinds of oppression and exploitation, against the bourgeoisie in its entirety and not only against a certain part of it.

Indeed, these declarations represent an attempt by the “C”PP to put the anti-imperialist struggle under the control of the Philippine national bourgeoisie. This is in total accord with Mao’s theory of the “new democratic revolution” in which the national bourgeoisie would be the ruling “anti-imperialist” class. After all, it is not by chance that the Philippine Maoists openly praise Mao’s “new democracy” and they don’t hesitate in declaring:

“The Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) was re-established on December 26, 1968 on the theoretical foundations of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It is the advanced detachment of the Filipino proletariat leading the new-democratic revolution. The CPP organizes and leads the New People's Army that wages revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside.”
(<http://www.philippinerevolution.net>, *The CPP*, edition in English)

Yes, there is no doubt that the “C”PP is engaged in an armed struggle. But not every armed struggle is a truly revolutionary and red armed struggle. In truth, the counter-revolutionary and pro-capitalist character of the “C”PP is clearly expressed even within the armed struggle which the Philippine Maoists try to present as proof of their supposed “anti-revisionist ideology”:

“Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law

Between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines

**THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES,
including the executive department and its agencies,
hereinafter referred to as the GRP**

AND

**THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT OF THE PHILIPPINES, including
the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and
the New People’s Army (NPA),
hereinafter referred to as the NDFP**

Hereinafter referred to as “the Parties”,

Article 1. This Agreement is meant to meet the needs arising from the concrete conditions of the Filipino people concerning violations of human rights and the principles of international humanitarian law, and to find principled ways and means of rendering justice to all the victims of such violations.

Article 2. This Agreement seeks to confront, remedy and prevent the most serious human rights violations in terms of civil and political rights, as well as to uphold, protect and promote the full

scope of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including:

4 - (...) the right not to be subjected to campaigns of incitement to violence against one's person. (...)

11 - The right to freedom of thought and expression, freedom of conscience, (...) and the right not to be punished or held accountable in the exercise of these rights.

12 - The right to free speech, press, association and assembly, and to seek redress of grievances. (...)

18 - The right to own property and the means of production and consumption that are obtained through (...) entrepreneurship, skill, inventiveness and intellectual merit (...).

Article 3. The Parties decry all violations and abuses of human rights.”
(<http://www.philippinerevolution.net/documents/comprehensive-agreement-on-respect-for-human-rights-and-international-humanitarian-law>, *Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law*, March, 1998, edition in English)

This incredibly reactionary statement is taken from an “agreement” signed between Philippine’s bourgeois pro-imperialist government and the NDPF (of which the “C”PP is the main force). Here, we can see the true face of the alleged “revolutionary armed struggle of the Philippine Maoists”. As can be observed, the “C”PP happily accepts and embraces all disgusting bourgeois-capitalist concepts about “human rights”, “political and social rights”, “freedom of speech”, etc... This kind of bourgeois garbage is completely hypocritical. If we follow and apply Maoism, this means to perpetuate capitalism, and if we perpetuate capitalism, things like “freedom of expression”, “freedom of press”, etc... will solely benefit the ruling classes who control the mass media and are able to inculcate their ideology deeply in the workers’ minds. On the other side, only those people who defend bourgeois exploitative order are allowed to have “free speech” in these media. And the same happens with so-called “human rights”. For an authentic Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist-Hoxhaist party, there can be no agreements on “human rights” or on “political freedoms” with the oppressive classes which are the only ones being favored by this kind of hypocritical abstract concepts. Under a genuine proletarian dictatorship, there can be no “human rights” to the capitalists and to those who support them. The reactionaries will never have “freedom of speech”, “freedom of expression” or “political rights” under proletarian power, because otherwise this would gravely jeopardize the construction of the socialist society. To give “rights” to the reactionaries would be synonym of opening the path to the restoration of capitalist-bourgeois tyranny.

And the Philippine Maoists go even further with their anti-communist delirium when they gladly agree on “freedom of political convictions” and on “the right to own property and the means of production and consumption that are obtained through (...) entrepreneurship, skill, inventiveness and intellectual merit (...).” If there were still doubts about the social-fascist nature of the Philippine Maoists, we think that these affirmations prove it beyond any doubts. The pro-capitalists of the “C”PP are not only recognizing and supporting capitalist private property, but they also display their infinite hypocrisy by saying that “private property must be won through skill and entrepreneurship”(!!!). This is amazing, because if we are going to ask the billionaires who rule the world, they will all claim that they obtained their wealth through their own “work, skill and entrepreneurship”. The capitalists call “skill”, “entrepreneurship and “inventive merit” to their ability of fiercely oppressing and exploiting the workers in order to accumulate outrageous profits. Therefore, this statement is an open admission by the Philippine Maoists that they defend and support the perpetuation of capitalist order (of which private property is one of the main pillars).

Another very interesting clause assured in the agreement between the bourgeoisie comprador and the Philippine Maoists is “the right not to be subjected to campaigns of incitement to violence against one’s

person”. In this clause, we can find total negation of the possibility of achieving socialism and communism, because their accomplishment necessarily involves the implementation of proletarian dictatorship, and the proletarian dictatorship cannot be implemented without the intensive promotion, encouragement and use of harsh violence against the capitalist-imperialist exploiters. Indeed, this violence will surely be widespread and the proletariat led by the Stalinist-Hoxhaist will stop at nothing to eliminate world capitalist system and to advance towards world socialism and world communism. And if to achieve a stateless and classless society it is necessary to physically annihilate all the anti-communists in this earth, we will certainly do it! Everything for the world socialist revolution! We, Stalinist-Hoxhaists, are not bound by the ridiculous concepts of “human rights” or of “political freedoms” and much less by the ultra-reactionary concepts of “freedom of conscience” and of “the right to own private property”. The only purpose of these “freedoms” is to keep bourgeois exploitation alive, is to postpone the red proletarian revolution.

Contrary to what happens with the Philippine Maoists, we, Stalinists-Hoxhaists, are warriors for socialism. We are not like the bourgeois sentimentalists, who hide their support for a dreadful system which ruthlessly kills billions of workers behind hypocritical concerns for “human rights”. And also contrary to what the revisionists think, far from shocking the workers, our positions will attract them because these are consistent and coherent Marxist-Leninist stands which are unchallengeable and invincible. It is the revisionist, opportunistic and pro-capitalist positions of the Maoists in general, and of the Philippine Maoists in particular which cause outrage among the world proletarians and which allow them to see Maoism’s true ideological and class colors.

4.4 - Maoist Bolshevik Reorganisation Movement of the Purba Banglar Sarbahara Party - Bangladesh

The MBRMPBSP of Bangladesh is another of those Maoist organizations which takes advantage of the fact that their respective countries are under the fascist form of bourgeois dominion in order to better deceive the workers. In truth, these parties always make much advertisement around their being obliged to act underground with the purpose of giving themselves a more “socialistic” and “radical” outlook. On the other side, the fascist bourgeoisie which rules these countries also has a lot of interest in keeping the workers thinking that the Maoists are genuine revolutionaries, because in this manner they prevent workers from searching for an authentic communist ideology. Moreover, we must never forget that Maoists are also persecuted because they represent the interests of a section of the bourgeoisie which is distinct from that which is in power. This is precisely what occurs in Bangladesh, one of the poorest nations in Asia which is under the dominance of the U.S and Indian imperialists who use local fascist lackeys to keep the country’s proletariat in a situation of *de facto* slavery.

The MBRMPBSP is also one of the Maoist parties which explicitly deny Marxism-Leninism, giving absolute priority and prevalence to Maoism. It is true that all Maoist parties and organizations without exception deny Marxism-Leninism. However, most of them try to hide their revisionist nature by qualifying themselves as “Marxist-Leninist-Maoist” and by putting Marx, Engels, and Lenin side by side with Mao on their logos. But the Bangladesh Maoists are not even worried about maintaining a “Marxist-Leninist” appearance. In their official documents, they bluntly say:

“In view of the correctness of the essence we are in favor of formulating our ideological line as Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, especially Maoism. (...) That is, as per our today’s understanding on the ideological line question, that to adopt Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is especially to adopt Maoism (...).” (http://www.solrojo.org/conf2004/Conf2004_Bangla.htm, *Marxism-Leninism-Maoism: How we accept it and how do we not accept it*, Md. Shahin - Adopted and circulated by the Supreme Leading Committee of the Maoist Bolshevik Reorganization Movement of the Proletarian Party of East Bengal (PBSP), October, 2004, edition in English)

As can be concluded, the Bangladesh Maoists don’t even hesitate about affirming their total and open

refusal of Marxism-Leninism, assuming the total predominance of Maoism. And what is interesting is that Bangladesh Maoists do it in a very straightforward manner, without subterfuges, as if they were assuming an undisputable truth. Indeed, they even do it in a very pompous tone:

“This we achieved through the quite lengthy process of experience of our party, especially through the process of the recent intense two line struggle. (...) we also believe that no body can become a communist without adopting Maoism today. (...) It means to us, whatever is in line with Maoism we have to adopt it, and whatever is not in line with Maoism we have to reject it.”

http://www.solrojo.org/conf2004/Conf2004_Bangla.htm,

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism:

How we accept it and how do we not accept it, Md. Shahin - Adopted and circulated by the Supreme Leading Committee of the Maoist Bolshevik Reorganization Movement of the Proletarian Party of East Bengal (PBSP), October, 2004, edition in English)

So, the social-fascists of the MBRMPBSP claim that their denial of Marxism-Leninism comes from the “two line” struggle. Here it is a proof of how anti-Marxism engenders more anti-Marxism. The “two line” theory was fabricated by Mao with the objective of justifying the dominant position of bourgeois elements within the “Communist” Party of China. Accordingly with Mao, the maintenance of pro-capitalist elements within the party is a positive feature because it would allegedly encourage “the struggle of the opposites” and the “confrontation between the ideas of the bourgeois line and the ideas of the proletarian line”. Of course that this was nothing more than a facade invented by Mao to disguise the fact that the “C”PC was under the complete control of the Chinese national bourgeoisie and had nothing to do with the fulfillment of the aspirations of Chinese workers. This “two line” theory was very useful to the advancement of the imperialist interests of the Chinese national bourgeoisie, because it gave a “Marxist” outlook to its presence in the leading organs of the “C”PC. When the authentic Marxists-Leninists noticed that the leadership of the “C”PC was not composed by proletarians, but by preeminent members of the national bourgeoisie, Mao ridiculously argued that things had to be like that because only through tolerating the “two lines” a party could be “authentically socialist”. Mao’s shameless defense of bourgeois order had no limits! He reached the point of claiming that without the presence of the national bourgeoisie in the dominant positions, the “C”PC would not be “revolutionary” because it would lack the “argumentation between the two dialectic lines”. In truth, Mao corrupted Marxism’s genial scientific principles by trying to use them to justify and preserve the social-capitalist character of the “C”PC. These are the veritable facts behind the “struggle of the two lines” supported by the Maoists. In his brilliant books, comrade Enver Hoxha couldn’t have been clearer:

“Mao Tsetung himself has advocated the need for the existence of «two lines» in the party. According to him, the existence and struggle between two lines is something natural, is a manifestation of the unity of the opposites, is a flexible policy which unites in itself both loyalty to principles and compromise. «Thus,» he writes, «we have two hands to deal with a comrade who has made mistakes: one hand to struggle with him and the other to unite with him. The aim of this struggle is to uphold the principles of Marxism, which means being principled; that is one aspect of the problem. The other aspect is to unite with him. The aim of unity is to offer him a way out, to reach a compromise with him». These views are diametrically opposed to the Leninist teachings on the communist party as an organized vanguard detachment which must have a single line and steel unity of thought and action. The class struggle in the ranks of the party, as a reflection of the class struggle going on outside the party, has nothing in common with Mao Tsetung's concepts on the «two lines in the party». The party is not an arena of classes and the struggle between antagonistic classes, it is not a gathering of people with contradictory aims. The genuine Marxist-Leninist party is the party of the working class only and bases itself on the interests of this class. This is the decisive factor for the triumph of the revolution and the construction of socialism. Defending the Leninist principles on the party, which do not permit the existence of many lines, of opposing trends in the communist party, J. V. Stalin emphasized: *the communist party is the monolithic party of the proletariat, and not a party of a bloc of elements of different classes*».” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

As for the “argument” put forward by the Bangladesh Maoists that only those who adopt Maoism are

communists, this statement is a laughable attempt to press the workers to embrace Maoism. By now, it must be clear to everybody that in reality it is the opposite which occurs: nobody can be communist while being Maoist.

Furthermore, the Bangladesh Maoists are engaged in promoting, assuming and supporting Mao's most disgusting anti-socialist theories like the infamous "New Democracy" and the not less infamous "people's war":

"In the context of imperialist world system the politics of eradicating imperialism to (...) is the politics of Maoism. In the imperialist suppressed semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries like us the concrete form of this politics is the revolutionary politics of New Democracy. (...) In our country the New Democratic Revolutionary politics means to eradicate the imperialism under the leadership of US, Indian expansionism, bureaucrat capitalism (...) and to establish the New Democratic economics, the New Democratic politics and the New Democratic culture."

http://www.solrojo.org/conf2004/Conf2004_Bangla.htm,

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism:

How we accept it and how do we not accept it, Md. Shahin - Adopted and circulated by the Supreme Leading Committee of the Maoist Bolshevik Reorganization Movement of the Proletarian Party of East Bengal (PBSP), October, 2004, edition in English)

Relatively to Maoist "New Democracy", we know that we have already talked about it a thousand times, but the truth is that this concept is one of the main foundations of Maoist revisionism, and therefore we must note once more the intimate links that exist between the defense of the "New Democracy" made by the Bangladesh Maoists and the interests of the national bourgeoisie. Indeed, it is not by chance that the Bangladesh Maoists put so much stress in the "struggle against U.S and Indian imperialism". They do it because the combat against those phenomena correspond exactly to the interests and aims of the Bangladesh national bourgeoisie, which aspires to surpass and destroy the influence that those foreign imperialisms hold over Bangladesh and which are preventing the country's national bourgeoisie from obtaining the lion share of the profits made through the exploitation of the workers. And what about the "struggle against bureaucratic capitalism" proposed by the Bangladesh Maoists? It is very interesting because they openly admit that they don't want to struggle against capitalism as a whole, but only against its "bureaucratic" features. Therefore, we conclude that for the Bangladesh Maoists, there are two types of capitalism: there is the "bureaucratic capitalism" – which is bad - and the "non-bureaucratic capitalism" – which is "good". It is crystal clear that this stand is revisionist to the bone because all kinds of capitalism without exception are bad, dreadful, oppressive, exploitative, and must be fought without mercy until their total and complete destruction. Of course that the Bangladesh Maoists identify this "bureaucratic capitalism" with the interests of foreign imperialism and of their country's bourgeoisie comprador. That is why they put so much emphasis in the struggle against it. But what could we expect from a party which dares to acknowledge its support for the implementation in Bangladesh of the dictatorship of the national bourgeoisie?

"In our country the New Democratic Revolutionary politics means (...) to establish the state power of workers-peasants-middle class-national bourgeoisie (...)."

http://www.solrojo.org/conf2004/Conf2004_Bangla.htm,

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism: How we accept it and how do we not accept it, Md. Shahin - Adopted and circulated by the Supreme Leading Committee of the Maoist Bolshevik Reorganization Movement of the Proletarian Party of East Bengal (PBSP), October, 2004, edition in English)

This declaration plainly confirms all that we had previously affirmed. A party which defends the repressive dominion of the national bourgeoisie is a totally anti-communist and pro-capitalist party. It is true that during the historical epoch of the first period of socialism, the national bourgeoisie could play a somewhat progressive role under very limited circumstances in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, but nowadays - in the context of the globalized world and of the outcome of the second period of socialism (that of world socialism) - this is not the case anymore. Indeed, the Bangladesh Maoists still mention the "workers, peasants and middle class" for the only reason of trying to attract them to the side of the interests of the country's national bourgeoisie, inculcating in them the false notion that under the rule of the national bourgeoisie, their hardships will miraculously disappear, that the supposedly

“progressive” dominion of the national bourgeoisie is synonym of socialism.

And as if this was not enough, the Bangladesh Maoists also make a scandalous defense of the counter-revolutionary “people’s war”:

“(...) there is no existence of any Maoism without the politics of people’s war. We believe, the essence of the Maoist New Democratic Revolutionary politics is the Democratic Revolution; the principal aspect of which is agrarian revolution and its central point is land revolution, and that could be implemented through the strategy of protracted people’s war depending mainly on the farmers in the rural areas (...).”(http://www.solrojo.org/conf2004/Conf2004_Bangla.htm, *Marxism-Leninism-Maoism: How we accept it and how do we not accept it*, Md. Shahin - Adopted and circulated by the Supreme Leading Committee of the Maoist Bolshevik Reorganization Movement of the Proletarian Party of East Bengal (PBSP), October, 2004, edition in English)

As can be observed, the social-fascists of the MBRMPBSP assume the undeniable links between “people’s war” and the Maoist reactionary theory which depicts the peasantry as the hegemonic class in revolution. In truth, accordingly with the social-bourgeois, anti-Marxist and anti-proletarian concept of “people’s war” fabricated by the Mao and by the Maoists, the peasantry will supposedly control and dominate everything: the people’s army will be composed almost exclusively by peasants, the “people’s war” will occur almost solely in rural areas, etc. Of course, we Stalinists-Hoxhaists know that this apparent “peasant power” is nothing but an enormous masquerade. The only class which will truly control and dominate the Maoist “people’s war” is the national bourgeoisie. The empty talks about the “hegemonic role of the peasantry” and about “peasant leadership” are a strategy used by the Maoists in general and by the Bangladesh Maoists in particular to seduce and attract the oppressed peasants, who are encouraged to see Maoism an “authentically revolutionary ideology which represents the most profound aspirations of the peasants”. The Bangladesh Maoists do this with the aim of transforming the peasantry into an immense force serving the interests of the country’s national bourgeoisie. Their tactic is: to engage peasants into an armed struggle against foreign imperialism and the bourgeoisie comprador under the false pretext of “establishing peasant power”. When the poor peasants finally overthrow the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie comprador, they might be able to understand that they only managed to replace a branch of the bourgeoisie by another one equally exploitative. But by that time, it will be too late: the national bourgeoisie will have its class power sufficiently consolidated to cope with peasants’ complaints. This was what happened in China and this is also what the social-fascists of the MBRMPBSP are also planning to do in Bangladesh. Indeed, this situation is excellent to the national bourgeoisie, because thanks to Maoist misleading, it can take advantage of having a powerful force at its service which is composed by a relatively “safe” class – after all, the peasantry lacks the inherently revolutionary character of the proletariat, it lacks the proletariat’s intrinsic tendency to Marxism-Leninism and to anti-revisionism.

Lastly, the Bangladesh Maoists arrogantly affirm that:

“Certainly Maoism is invincible (...).”

(http://www.solrojo.org/conf2004/Conf2004_Bangla.htm, *Marxism-Leninism-Maoism: How we accept it and how do we not accept it*, Md. Shahin - Adopted and circulated by the Supreme Leading Committee of the Maoist Bolshevik Reorganization Movement of the Proletarian Party of East Bengal (PBSP), October, 2004, edition in English)

Unfortunately for them, we, Stalinists-Hoxhaists, know very well that Maoism can and will surely be defeated, but only through faithful and absolute embracement of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism, which is the authentic ideology of socialism and communism. We, Stalinists-Hoxhaists, will never stop our struggle to ensure that not only the Bangladesh workers, but also all the world workers are definitively and totally liberated from all remnants of Maoist social-fascism.

4.5 – Communist Party of Bhutan (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist)

The “C”PB (MLM) is the main Maoist organization in Bhutan, one of the poorest and most backward countries in the world. In fact, Bhutan is under the dominion of a feudal-fascist monarchy since many centuries. This monarchy serves and represents the interests of the bourgeoisie comprador and of foreign imperialism, condemning Bhutanese workers to live in the most loathful misery and primitivism, suffering hunger and torture by the monarchic ultra-reactionary forces.

Needless to say that Bhutanese Maoists know very well how to manipulate this situation in favor of the interests of the class they serve: the “anti-imperialist” national section of the Bhutanese bourgeoisie. This can be easily concluded if we take into account the words of the Bhutanese Maoists relatively to whom they consider to be the enemies:

“The true enemy (...) is the Wangchuk dynasty and its despotic regime, which serves as the compradors of Bhutanese feudalism, Indian expansionism and imperialism as a whole.”

(<http://www.bannedthought.net/India/PeoplesMarch/PM19992006/archives/2003/aug2k3/bhutan.htm>, *Bhutan Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist)*, August, 2003, edition in English)

Therefore, it is easy to see that Bhutanese Maoists don’t really want to organize and lead a genuine socialist revolution to liberate Bhutanese workers from monarchic-feudal-imperialist oppression. All they want to do is to fabricate an “anti-imperialist and “anti-feudal” revolution which will unite Bhutanese workers around the interests of the Bhutanese national bourgeoisie. With this purpose, they use apparently “progressive” and even “leftist” slogans with the aim of making the Bhutanese workers believe that the social-fascists of the “C”PB (MLM) are truly on their side. Of course, the Bhutanese Maoists don’t lose the opportunity of embracing and praising Mao’s wicked anti-socialist theories of the “peasant revolution” and of the “new democracy”:

“(...) it is crystal clear that the New Democratic Revolution is the historical necessity of the hour to solve all the kinds of crisis of semi-feudal and semi-colonial Bhutan. Hence, (...) we proudly proclaim the declaration of the Bhutan Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist) to wage the new democratic revolution on the soil of Bhutan and take oath to reach a classless society via socialism by waging an anti-feudal, anti-imperialist peasant revolution through the new democratic revolution

in Bhutan.”(<http://www.bannedthought.net/India/PeoplesMarch/PM19992006/archives/2003/aug2k3/bhutan.htm>, *Bhutan Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist)*, August, 2003, edition in English)

Throughout this article, we noted that all Maoist parties staunchly defend the counter-revolutionary “New Democracy” invented by Mao and which constitutes on the main ideological pillars of Maoist revisionism. Consequently, it is not a surprise that Bhutanese Maoists also support it, even because this “New Democratic revolution” means in truth nothing more than the implementation of the dictatorship of the national bourgeoisie. Just like happens with many other Maoist organizations which we already analyzed (like the MBRMPBSP, for instance), also the “C”PB (MLM) does it utmost to attract peasants by claiming that the objective of the Bhutanese Maoists is to lead a “peasant revolution”. In this manner, they manage to mislead the brutally oppressed and exploited Bhutanese peasantry, which lacks ideological formation and it is therefore an easy prey to the supposedly “revolutionary” slogans of the Maoists. Amidst their appalling and unspeakable living conditions, the Bhutanese peasants are certainly pleased by Maoists’ fake promises of “peasant power”, and they cannot imagine what Maoism truly is; they don’t even dream that far from being concerned with their emancipation and well-being, the Bhutanese Maoists only want to open the path to the replacement of the monarchic-fascist dictatorship of the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie by the equally exploitative dictatorship of the national “patriotic” bourgeoisie. As the Bhutanese Maoists perfectly know that the peasantry is a naturally vacillating and ideologically non-consistent class, they transform Bhutanese peasantry into an huge force involuntarily defending the interests of the Bhutanese national bourgeoisie; who is in search for the profits and properties of which it has been deprived by the pro-imperialist comprador classes which rule and control Bhutan’s political-socio-economic power. Of course that the Bhutanese peasants are not informed about this, and they sincerely think that Bhutanese Maoists are “struggling for peasants’ liberation”.

Needless to say that there is not the smallest place for the proletariat within the documents and programs of the Bhutanese Maoists. Indeed, the working class is Maoist’s greatest fear because it is the only class

which is able to open the peasants' eyes to the combat against all kinds of revisionisms, including Maoism, and against all exploiters, including the national bourgeoisie.

But despite all their efforts to hide this truth from the Bhutanese toiling masses, the Bhutanese Maoists cannot cover their perverse support for the capitalists:

“The Bhutan Communist Party (MLM) requests all the Bhutanese (...) peasants, businessmen, employee, students, youths, teachers, writers, intellectuals and civilians to accept its appeal and call and to help physically, morally and economically in the struggle.”

(<http://www.bannedthought.net/India/PeoplesMarch/PM19992006/archives/2003/aug2k3/bhutan.htm>,

Bhutan Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist), August, 2003, edition in English)

As can be observed, the Bhutanese Maoists appeal to the old opportunistic trick of the “union of all classes” against a “common enemy”. In this case, the “common enemy” is foreign imperialism and the monarchic-feudal-fascist bourgeoisie of the comprador type. Also in this statement, we can note the vicious attempts by the Bhutanese Maoists to keep the working class away from the leadership of the revolution. They even reach the point of appealing to the “businessmen”, that is, to the “patriotic” capitalists. And the social-fascists of the “C”PB (MLM) don’t support the capitalists by chance. They do it to ensure that the future pro-bourgeois “revolution” will not run the risk of being transformed into an authentic socialist revolution by the Bhutanese workers (it is true that Bhutan’s working class is weak in numbers, but if it acquires a genuine Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist-Hoxhaist consciousness, it would surely become a lethal menace to the interests of the national bourgeoisie).

Through granting the preservation of the bourgeoisie as a class, the Bhutanese Maoists turn impossible the abolition of exploitation and wage slavery in the “New Democratic revolution”, and thus they are allowing the implementation of the oppressive tyranny of the referred “businessmen”, that is, of those whom the Bhutanese Maoists consider to be the “progressive” bourgeoisie.

And the anti-communist fever of the Bhutanese Maoists goes even further:

“The Bhutan Communist Party (MLM) also requests the international communities, (...) not to help the autocratic regime of the Wangchuk dynasty, but extend their support towards the Bhutan Communist Party (MLM) which is fighting in the forefront of the struggle for democracy, civil and human rights in the democratic struggle of Bhutan.”

(<http://www.bannedthought.net/India/PeoplesMarch/PM19992006/archives/2003/aug2k3/bhutan.htm>,

Bhutan Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist), August, 2003, edition in English)

This declaration is pathetic. The Bhutanese Maoists are appealing to the same imperialist-capitalist institutions (the “international communities”) that support Bhutan’s fascist-feudal monarchy in order to make them “stop helping the monarchy”! What a “great” strategy! The Bhutanese Maoists are anti-socialist to the point of believing that world capitalists-imperialists are really worried about the well-being of Bhutanese masses. Indeed, if these words were not written on an official document of the “C”PB (MLM), we would feel tempted to believe that we were reading some of the garbage published by those hateful hypocrite pro-capitalists organizations such as “Amnesty International” and the like...

Contrary to what the Bhutanese Maoists insinuate, world capitalists-imperialists couldn’t care less about the so-called “human rights”. The bourgeoisie only cares about the maximization of profits and nothing more. In fact, the very concept of “human rights” is anti-Marxist because it rejects class viewpoints (the bourgeoisie affirms that “human rights are for all”, but this is not true. Under capitalist dictatorship only the exploiters have their “human rights” recognized while the workers are treated worse than animals. This situation can only be reversed through the implementation of proletarian dictatorship).

All this suffices to prove the counter-revolutionary and social-fascist character of the “C”PB (MLM). Nonetheless, we will continue our analysis by recalling the astonishingly reactionary affirmations of one of the main leaders of the “C”PB (MLM): “comrade” Sushil. In an interview given in 2009 to the Lal Salm blog (a Maoist site), this leader of the Bhutanese Maoists declared:

“LAL SALAM BLOG: Last year your party started a Peoples War in Bhutan...”

COMRADE SUSHIL: No. We have not initiated a protracted peoples war in Bhutan. (...) Much of the media proclaimed this as the beginning of the Peoples War, but we are not at that phase. We are trying to reach the level of Peoples War, but we have not yet reached it, and are preparing for it. We do not know how long this will take, it will depend on many factors.

LAL SALAM BLOG: The Maoists in Nepal have given up their Peoples War and taken a new tactic in pursuing the Constituent Assembly elections. Is this a correct tactic in your parties opinion?

COMRADE SUSHIL: In regards to the UCPN (M) we do not think that they have given up their goals. We think they are pursuing another way, another tactic to establish a peoples state. (...) We too will go for a Constituent Assembly (...).

LAL SALAM BLOG: So a Constituent Assembly is a tactic that you are interested in for change in Bhutan?

COMRADE SUSHIL: Actually it is the tactics and strategy of communist parties in the third world. Third world countries are semi-colonial and semi-feudal. So without a New Democratic stage we cannot reach socialism.”

(<http://maobadiwatch.blogspot.pt/2009/05/interview-with-comrade-suniel-from.html>, *Interview with Comrade Sushil from the Communist Party of Bhutan (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist*, May, 2009, edition in English)

As can be concluded, contrary to what happens with many other Maoist parties which try to give themselves a “radical” and “leftist” appearance through engaging in social-bourgeois “peoples’ war”, the Bhutanese Maoists do not even waste their time doing this. They freely assume not only that they are not concerned about armed struggle, but also that they are ready to enter and participate in bourgeois elections through the formation of a “Constituent Assembly”. In truth, this can be explained due to the fact that bourgeois fake “democracy” is strikingly similar to Maoism: both try to deceive the workers by inculcating in them a false impression of “freedom” and “emancipation” only to hide the perpetuation of capitalist repressive rule.

Therefore, it is not surprising that the Bhutanese Maoists happily defend and support the so-called “Constituent Assembly” which is nothing more than a synonym of the bourgeois treacherous “democracy”. Indeed, we should not forget that the social-fascists of the “C”PC (MLM) have the Nepalese Maoists as their models and inspiration. And what did the Nepalese Maoists do? They overthrew the Nepalese king only to surrender in favor of Indian imperialism and to organize bourgeois elections after which they abandoned power in peaceful manner, thus giving a blatant example of how far Maoists’ pro-capitalism can go. That’s why some Maoist parties and organizations criticize the Nepalese Maoists. They criticize them not from genuine Marxist-Leninist positions, but merely because the “Communist” Party of Nepal (Maoist) clearly revealed Maoism’s true nature in front of the eyes of the working masses without any kind of subterfuges (in the DWM I and DWM II we had already analyzed the revisionist course of the “C”PN – M with more detail).

As for the Bhutanese Maoists’ claim that to participate in bourgeois elections in order to install a capitalist tyranny does not mean to give up goals, we have to say that they are completely right, but only in what respects to their ideology. Indeed, by collaborating with the implementation of a bourgeois “democracy”, far from giving up their goals, the Maoists are precisely accomplishing them: they preserve and support a form of bourgeois dictatorship which tries to hide the exploitative class character of its socio-political-economic order with the purpose of perpetuating capitalist oppression.

Moreover, the leader of the Bhutanese Maoists also fully embraces Mao’s anti-Marxist “theory” that demands that to achieve socialism it is necessary to first develop capitalism during the “New Democratic” stage: he explicitly said that “without a New Democratic stage we cannot reach socialism”. This ultra-reactionary idea was scientifically unmasked by comrade Enver Hoxha:

“Mao Zedong took over the anti-Marxist concept of Kautsky, according to which in the backward

countries the transition to socialism cannot be achieved without going through a lengthy period of free development of capitalism which prepares the conditions to go over to socialism later. In fact, the so-called socialist regime which Mao Zedong and his group established in China was and remained a bourgeois-democratic regime." (Enver Hoxha, *Eurocommunism is Anti-communism*, Tirana, 1980, edition in English)

Finally, the Bhutanese Maoists reach the peak of their own social-fascist reactionarism by declaring that:

"COMRADE SUSHIL: (...) we should aim for a Constituent Assembly, and this is our main slogan." (<http://maobadiwatch.blogspot.pt/2009/05/interview-with-comrade-suniel-from.html>, *Interview with Comrade Sushil from the Communist Party of Bhutan (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist*, May, 2009, edition in English)

So, the counter-revolutionaries of the "C"PB (MLM) explicitly admit that the main objective of their organization and ideology is the participation in bourgeois political game through the installation of the dictatorship of the national bourgeoisie which will keep Bhutanese toiling masses in eternal servitude and whose oppressive nature will be covered by "progressive" and even "socialistic" masks.

5 – Australasian continent

Despite being the smallest continent of the world, Australasia is full of Maoist revisionist poison. The continent's biggest countries – Australia and New Zealand – have both well established Maoist parties which keep Australasian proletariat carefully away from Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhism, thus safeguarding the class interests of the capitalists.

This continent's history is an uninterrupted succession of colonialist brutalities, with the Australasian indigenous peoples being victims of the profit-driven exploitative system since many decades. In fact, Australian Aboriginals and New Zealand Maoris have lived in Australasia since much before European colonization. However, from the moment British imperialists set foot on the continent for the first time, they did not spare efforts to subjugate, oppress and exterminate Australasia's native populations, who suffered unspeakable exploitation. Of course, the vast majority of white settlers who went to Australasia was as miserable, poor and repressed as the indigenous peoples. In order to prevent the European workers from understanding that there was identity of interests between them and the natives - because all them were equally exploited by the same oppressing classes - the British colonialists did their utmost to promote racism against indigenous Australasians, depicting them as "being more animals than humans". This strategy was successful in dividing Australasian workers and British imperialism managed to remain dominant in the continent until the second half of the XXth century, when it was replaced by American imperialism. Recently, Australian bourgeoisie started to engage itself in the promotion of Australia as a regional imperialist power, but these pretensions are not much entitled to have success, because now there is another major world imperialist power which is also deeply interested in controlling the continent: social-imperialist China. This situation is encouraged due to the relative geographical proximity between China and Australasia.

As we shall see, Maoist parties in this continent support and defend Chinese social-imperialism, thus trying to keep Australasian proletariat in bondage and at the mercy of capitalist-imperialist gluttony.

5.1 – Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist)

The "Communist" Party of Australia ("Marxist-Leninist") is the main Maoist organization in that country. Historically, it was born from a split which occurred within the former CPA in the 60's between the pro-Soviet revisionists and the pro-Chinese revisionists. These last ones managed to form their own party and this was how the "C"PA ("ML") first appeared. This party tries to deceive workers by affirming that "it aims to continue the CPA's revolutionary traditions that begun in 1920", but this kind of treacherous

slogans are completely unmasked by the ultra-revisionist and reactionary theories put forward by the "C"PA ("ML").

The Australian Maoist party has played a role of betrayal within the Marxist-Leninist World Movement of comrade Enver Hoxha:

What was the role of the "C"PA ("ML") within the Marxist-Leninist world movement in time of comrade Enver Hoxha?

To answer this question we refer to our main source: Enver Hoxha ["Reflections of China"](#) - Volume II, pages 340 - 366 [December, 1976] – Enver Hoxha's Criticism at the Chairman of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), Edward Hill.

The "C"PA ("ML") was and is indeed one of the "5th Columns" of the world bourgeoisie in general and in particular that of the Chinese social-imperialists. The "C"PA ("ML") assumed a hostile attitude towards comrade Enver Hoxha, the PLA, the Socialist Albania and towards the whole Marxist-Leninist World Movement since the end of the year 1976.

For the "C"PA ("ML"), the unconditional subordination under the Chinese line was and is more important than the principles of Marxism-Leninism. With the charge of "abandonment of the Mao Zedong-Ideas", the "C"PA ("ML") attempted to put the Marxist-Leninist parties under pressure for the purpose to secede them from the PLA. The "C"PA ("ML") advocated the Chinese point of view of limiting the cooperation of the Marxist-Leninist fraternal parties exclusively on bilateral relations. This Chinese line was contrary to the line of Lenin and Stalin who always struggled also for the necessity of multilateral relations among the Communist parties. The foundation of the Comintern is a bright example for this. And in their struggle against Maoism the genuine brother parties of the PLA started successfully to organize their multilateral relations and international meetings inclusively the invitation of delegations of the brother parties for their participation at party congresses.

After the PLA had dared to criticize the counter-revolutionary "three worlds" theory, the Chinese revisionists and their lackeys, such as the "C"PA ("ML"), increased their efforts, to force the Marxist-Leninist world movement to bow down to the general-line of the "C"P China. In the countries of the Marxist-Leninist parties, the Chinese leaders installed parallel, so called "Marxist-Leninist" organizations with the intention to combat our fraternal parties in their own countries. All this shows that the "C"PA ("ML") is a sworn enemy of the Marxist-Leninist world movement; this Maoist party is an enemy of proletarian internationalism.

In the 50s and 60s of the last century, the Khrushchev-revisionists continued the betrayal of the Second International and with the beginning of our struggle against modern revisionism, the Chinese revisionists created their counter-revolutionary "theory of three worlds" as another instrument for the purpose of splitting and liquidate the Communist World Movement.

The "C"PA ("ML") supported the Chinese revisionist leaders in their struggle against the Marxist-Leninist world movement. Therefore, they are an agency of the Chinese revisionism. The "C"PA ("ML") attacked the Albanian Party of Labour and the Socialist Albania and also the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin on behalf of the revisionist leaders of the "Communist" Party of China (see: Enver Hoxha, ["Reflections of China"](#)).

However, as a result, their paralyzing mission failed. The Marxist-Leninist World Movement with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head thwarted the insidious intentions of the Chinese lackey Edward Hill:

"The tactic of the Chinese is plain. They (...) use Hill and perhaps others, by means of whom we are to engage in polemics on the question of China. The objective of this is to split the revolutionary movement and the unity of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties. They have done such a thing long ago with a number of Marxist-Leninist communist parties with which they have broken off relations and now maintain relations with a hotchpotch of groups of provocateurs that call themselves «Maoists». On the other hand, while playing this game they are trying to isolate the Party of Labour of Albania and reduce its great authority. We must be vigilant in this direction, must guard against provocateurs and defend the correct line of our Party and the purity of

Marxism-Leninism with all our strength. The revisionist Chinese and their lackeys will be discredited and will fail.” (Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China, Volume II*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

In the struggle against Khrushchev revisionism the Marxist-Leninist parties had been in minority, however, in the proceeding struggle against Maoism the Marxist-Leninist parties maintained their majority. Most of the Marxist-Leninist parties stood much more firmly on the side of the PLA in order to combat the divisive activities of the “C”PA (“ML”). The alleged "anti-revisionist" Mao Zedong-Ideas were unmasked by comrade Enver Hoxha and rejected as revisionist ideas. Thus, this ideological new weapon of the world imperialists against the communist world and against world revolution failed to have the desired effect. Maoism had to accept defeat. In contrast, the struggle against Maoism was the historic peak of the strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement, guided by comrade Enver Hoxha.

Moreover, Australian Maoists don't hesitate before eulogizing Mao's “revolution by stages”, even affirming that this constitutes the party's main ideological base:

“The Programme of the Party is based on revolution by stages; the current stage being the struggle to win real national independence by resisting and expelling US and other imperialisms from Australia. With the establishment of a democratic peoples' republic, the working class and its allies can build and consolidate the social and material conditions for the later stage of socialism.” (<http://www.vanguard.net.au/2008/about.php>, *About CPA (ML)*, edition in English)

“We're fighting to:

- **Build people's power in society as the foundation stone for a democratic people's republic uniting all anti-imperialist classes and sectors.”** (<http://www.vanguard.net.au/2008/fightingprogramme.php>, *Fighting Programme of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist)*, edition in English)

And the historical leader of the Australian Maoists even openly admitted and praised the preservation of capitalist elements under the so-called “anti-imperialist stage of the revolution”:

“There are two stages to Australia's revolution. The first is the completion of the tasks of the anti-imperialist revolution. (...)

In the achievement of anti-imperialist independence there are undoubtedly socialist components. (...) Alongside this however are smaller capitalists, farmers, businessmen, other working people. Smaller capitalists can continue under the anti-imperialist dictatorship (...).” (Edward Hill, *The Great Cause of Australian Independence*, November 1977, edition in English)

These words from the social-fascist Edward Hill are a confession by the Maoists themselves that the objective of Mao's “revolution by stages” is to maintain tyrannical wage slavery by promoting the development and consolidation of bourgeois-capitalist elements which will take socio-economic power in their hands, thus denying to the working masses any kind of genuinely socialist perspective. This is how the pro-bourgeois “democratic and anti-imperialist” stage of the Maoist “revolution” ultimately invalidates and paralyses the advance towards the “socialist” stage. Therefore, the affirmations of the Australian Maoists about the construction of “the later stage of socialism” are nothing more than empty lies which should not mislead conscious proletarians.

Indeed, if we pay attention to the declarations of the Australian Maoists, we will observe that they basically limit their “revolution” to the alleged foundation of an “anti-imperialist democratic people's republic”. In what respects to their fake anti-imperialism, we will try to reveal its true character later in this article; but relatively to the concept of “democratic peoples' republic” fabricated by them, it seems crystal clear that the Australian Maoists are in fact referring to Mao's social-fascist “new democracy”. It is quite natural and understandable that Maoists try to disguise their defense of this reactionary theory by giving it different names like “peoples' democracy”, “people's republic”, etc...But in the end, the truth remains and the Maoist “New Democracy” continues to be the anti-socialist idea it has always been,

independently of what the counter-revolutionaries of the “C”PA (“ML”) decide to call it. Throughout this text, we have already reflected about and analyzed the veritable nature of this perverse “New Democracy”. We have concluded that this “New Democracy” is nothing more than a masquerade invented by Mao and only serves to foster bourgeois class strengthening during the supposedly “anti-imperialist democratic stage of the revolution”. According to Mao, the objective of this stage is to “open the path to socialism”, but this is a lie. As the comrades of the glorious Marxist-Leninist World Movement of comrade Enver Hoxha accurately affirmed:

“Mao Zedong dressed up his theory of “New Democracy” to appear as if it were in accord with the Marxist-Leninist theory of the “new democracy,” that is, the national democratic revolution of the new type; that in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples is no longer the reserve of the bourgeoisie but has become inseparably linked with the world proletarian revolution and socialism. But this was a hoax. The actual theory of Mao Zedong was that of the great barrier between the democratic and socialist revolutions. While Lenin stressed that under the conditions of imperialism the oppressed nations can ensure their genuine freedom and independence only with the establishment of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that the proletariat and people can bring the revolution to the socialist stage through the bourgeois democratic revolution of the new type; Mao, on the other hand, advocated the opposite. Mao wanted to stop the Chinese people’s revolution of a new type halfway, to drag it back towards the bourgeois democratic revolution of the old type, dreaming pipe dreams of a non-socialist independent Chinese state on a middle road, independent of both imperialism and socialism. (...)

This “Thought” of Mao’s, however, is not in the least original or new but is a basic tenet of the revisionism of the heroes of the Second International, an idea held by the Russian Mensheviks which was theoretically demolished by Lenin as early as 1905.” (Documents of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement of comrade Enver Hoxha, *U.S. Neo-Revisionism as the American Expression of the International Opportunist Trend of Chinese Revisionism*, Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists, 1979, edition in English)

Therefore, the purpose of this “New Democracy” is not to accomplish socialism (let alone communism...), but to preserve capitalism as an everlasting socio-economic oppressive order through avoiding the implementation of proletarian dictatorship (about which, by the way, the Australian Maoists do not utter a single word...).

In what respects to their fake “anti-imperialism”, the Australian Maoists proclaim it throughout their documents and texts while pretending to call our attention to “inter-imperialist contradictions”:

“Imperialism gives rise to constant international instability and wars of aggression. The root cause of instability and war is imperialist expansionism and rivalry of and between the United States of America and the European Union and to a lesser extent, Japan.” (<http://www.vanguard.net.au/2008/programme.php>, *Independence from US imperialism - Programme of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist)*, 2009, edition in English)

“As deputy sheriff to US imperialism in the region, Australia hosts a large number of significant US military bases. This makes us dependent and subservient to US economic, political and military interests at home and internationally.”(http://www.vanguard.net.au/2008/latestnews.php?subaction=showfull&id=1303421852&archive=&start_from=&ucat=1&, *Unite on May Day*, April, 2011, edition in English)

So, according to the Australian Maoists, nowadays the main imperialist contradiction occurring in the world is that between American imperialism and European imperialism. The social-fascists of the “C”PA (“ML”) must think we are still living in the 1920’s or in the 1930’s, because only someone who thinks like that can affirm that today’s’ main imperialist rivalry is between American and European imperialism. At first sight, this affirmation seems merely ridiculous, but if we analyze it carefully, we will easily conclude that it has indeed a very precise objective: to keep the workers’ attention away from the necessity of struggle against the emergent Chinese social-imperialism, whose origins we can find within

Maoist revisionism. In fact, while screaming about the “anti-imperialist combat”, Australian Maoists try to deny the existence of Chinese social-imperialism. In truth, more than merely denying Chinese social-imperialism – which is nowadays on the verge of world domination, being about to surpass the USA as the world’s main imperialist superpower – the Australian Maoists go even further and reach the point of praising its expansion:

“Australians are genuinely grateful that Chinese demand for resources such as coal and steel has helped cushion us from the extremes of the world economic crisis.”

([http://www.vanguard.net.au/2008/statements.php?](http://www.vanguard.net.au/2008/statements.php?subaction=showfull&id=1285674025&archive=&start_from=&ucat=6&)

[subaction=showfull&id=1285674025&archive=&start_from=&ucat=6&](http://www.vanguard.net.au/2008/statements.php?subaction=showfull&id=1285674025&archive=&start_from=&ucat=6&), *Salute the 61st anniversary of the formation of the People’s Republic of China*, September, 2010, edition in English)

This statement is just astonishing! Australian Maoists are affirming that Chinese imperialist bourgeoisie did well to the Australian workers through exploiting them to obtain coal and steel (two raw materials which are much needed by Chinese social-imperialists because they are essential to the construction of machines, industry, etc...). Therefore, if we are going to believe in the neo-revisionists of the “C”PA (“ML”), Australian workers should be infinitely happy for the fact of being chosen to serve as producers and suppliers of the raw materials necessary to the further expansion of Chinese social-imperialism! Needless to say that by being obliged to contribute to the strengthening of the Chinese imperialist bourgeoisie, Australian proletarians are also being forced to open the path to their own further exploitation, because Chinese social-imperialism aims to exploit all workers of the world, including Australian ones, of course. And the Australian Maoists shamelessly affirm that for this Australian workers must be “grateful”! This is undoubtedly an outrageous declaration. Instead of defending the annihilation of capitalist-imperialist world system as the only mean to definitively prevent the inevitability of economic crisis, the counter-revolutionaries of the “C”PA (“ML”) thank Chinese social-imperialists for having allegedly helped cushion its effects over Australians.

But what could we expect from a party which considers China a country with “socialist characteristics”?

“In China today there are examples (...) of positive social behaviour characteristic of socialism.”

([http://www.vanguard.net.au/2008/statements.php?](http://www.vanguard.net.au/2008/statements.php?subaction=showfull&id=1285674025&archive=&start_from=&ucat=6&)

[subaction=showfull&id=1285674025&archive=&start_from=&ucat=6&](http://www.vanguard.net.au/2008/statements.php?subaction=showfull&id=1285674025&archive=&start_from=&ucat=6&), *Salute the 61st anniversary of the formation of the People’s Republic of China*, September, 2010, edition in English)

Here, we can see how the counter-revolutionaries of the “C”PA (“ML”) mislead Australian workers. They disguise their support for Chinese social-imperialism through a very simple trick: they deny that China is an imperialist country, even affirming that it has “socialist features and elements”, when the truth is that not only China is presently totally engaged in imperialist ascension, but also that it had never anything to do with socialism. In this manner, by depicting social-imperialist China as including “socialist elements”, Australian Maoists try to give a “progressive” color to their support for Chinese imperialist bourgeoisie. It is really scandalous how the Australian Maoists are so worried about “US imperialism influence within Australia” while outrageously defending and even praising Chinese social-imperialism.

Moreover, the counter-revolutionaries of the “C”PA (“ML”) spent their time criticizing Australia’s political leaders saying they are “lackeys of the pro-American bourgeoisie”. It is indeed true that Australian political-economic system is conceived to foster the interests of the pro-American bourgeoisie, but it is also true that Australian Maoists are not substantially different from those they pretend to criticize. The only distinction we can make between them is that while Australia’s current bourgeois politicians favor the interests of American imperialism, Australian Maoists aim to achieve power to favor the interests of Chinese social-imperialism.

And as if this was not enough, the counter-revolutionaries of the “C”PA (“ML”) go on with their appalling anti-socialism:

“(...) US imperialism (has not) given up its dreams of destroying the People’s Republic of China or once again attacking the Republic of Cuba or the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea and other progressive countries.” (<http://www.vanguard.net.au/2008/programme.php>, *Independence from US*

imperialism - Programme of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist, 2009, edition in English)

So, according with the Australian Maoists, nepotist Castroist Cuba and monarcho-fascist North Korea are “progressive” countries. The neo-revisionists of the “C”PA (“ML”) really know no limits to their reactionarism. Nonetheless, we must admit that this praise of social-fascist countries by the Australian Maoists is not a surprise if we take into account the anti-communist nature of their political line. In fact, the social-fascists of the “C”PA (“ML”) do not spare efforts to confine workers’ demands within reformist limits:

“(...) the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) supports demands to (...) vigorously tax the large multinationals and the super-rich.” (<http://www.vanguard.net.au/2008/programme.php>, *Independence from US imperialism - Programme of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist)*, 2009, edition in English)

“We’re fighting to:

- **Raise living standards with a progressive tax system.”** (<http://www.vanguard.net.au/2008/fightingprogramme.php>, *Fighting Programme of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist)*, edition in English)

“(...) people demand guarantees of jobs, savings, decent living wages and conditions, housing and access to education and healthcare services.” (http://www.vanguard.net.au/2008/statements.php?subaction=showfull&id=1225099825&archive=&start_from=&ucat=6&, *Make the Rich Corporations Pay!*

Guarantee jobs, living wage, savings and housing, October, 2008, edition in English)

These slogans were taken from the official documents of the Australian Maoists and they clearly display their social-democratic character. If we are going to believe them, there is no need to violently overthrowing capitalist-imperialist system neither to implement proletarian dictatorship towards the construction of a socialist and communist society. All that we need is to “impose higher taxes on the millionaires”, because this will rise “living standards”. These proposals from the Australian Maoists perfectly configure a defense of the famous bourgeois “state of well-being”. But contrary to what the Australian Maoists insinuate, this reformist “welfare state” is highly benefic to the capitalists because it contributes to prevent the working classes from adhering to communist ideology. The “higher taxes” are always irrelevant relatively to the colossal accumulation of wealth and profits by the capitalists, but they allow these capitalists to tell the workers: “See, the state is forcing us to pay more taxes, there fore it is false that the state is controlled by us. Consequently, you can see that the communist principle that state is an instrument of our dictatorship is false.” In this manner, many workers believe in the lies of the capitalists and think that there is no need to accomplish violent socialist revolution and proletarian dictatorship for the simple reason that allegedly there is not bourgeois tyranny. After all, it is not necessary to replace bourgeois dictatorship by proletarian dictatorship because the state would already be supposedly under “popular and democratic control”. Of course, such things as higher wages, housing, jobs, etc...are presented as “proofs” that the state is really exempt from bourgeois dominance. Through this scheme, capitalists can sleep quietly while this “welfare state” inculcates in the toiling masses the false idea that the crucial principle of Stalinism-Hoxhaism according to which under capitalism the state power is always an instrument of oppressive profit-driven totalitarianism and must be overthrow is not correct neither applicable anymore. This constitutes a veritable life insurance to capitalism, an everlasting guarantee to wage exploitation.

This is the kind of pro-bourgeois masquerades that the social-fascists of the “C”PA (“ML”) want to promote and encourage. But if they think they can deceive workers forever, they are the ones who are completely misled. Proletarians in Australian and in the world will awake and they will wage a fierce struggle against the influence of all kinds of revisionism in general, and of Maoist revisionism in particular. And if they wage this combat under the iron proletarian leadership of the Comintern (SH), they will surely achieve glorious socialist victories!

5.2 – Communist Party of Aotearoa (New Zealand)

The “Communist” Party of Aotearoa is the main Maoist organization in New Zealand, a nation which was a British colony during many centuries and which is nowadays under the influence of American imperialism.

In their official documents, New Zealand Maoists pretend to struggle against foreign imperialism and they don’t hesitate in qualifying the still existing revisionist states as their ideological allies:

“Tested and deepened in revolutionary battles around the world, Marxism-Leninism has shown its worth. For it was under the leadership of parties armed with this powerful weapon that people in Russia, China, Korea, and Vietnam, more than a quarter of the world’s population won their freedom from capitalism.” (<http://home.clear.net.nz/pages/cpa/>, *Workers, Join Your Party!*, edition in English)

As can be observed, New Zealand Maoists affirm that social-fascist regimes ruling North Korea, China and Vietnam are Marxist-Leninist! This is a tremendous insult to the heroic ideology of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha. Someone who qualifies bourgeois-nationalist Vietnam as a “Marxist-Leninist country” is totally submerged in the most abhorrent anti-communism. Vietnamese people fought hard against imperialist aggressors, but unfortunately this anti-imperialist struggle never managed to reach a truly socialist and revolutionary level, remaining at a merely nationalistic-bourgeois ground. Thus, after the defeat of American imperialism, Vietnamese bourgeoisie implemented a revisionist state which would inclusively fell under the sway of Soviet social-imperialism. Nowadays, Vietnamese social-bourgeoisie ruling classes continue to live lavishly thanks to the exploitation of Vietnamese people and they are also approaching Chinese social-imperialism which is already predominant in Southern Asia. As can be concluded, the historical course, ideology and stands of the “Communist” Party of Vietnam are very far from being Marxist-Leninist.

Relatively to the affirmations of the New Zealand Maoists that North Korea is “Marxist-Leninist”, they dispense our commentaries. We have already unmasked Maoists’ support for monarcho-fascist North Korea and explained the intimate links and striking similarities between Maoism and KimIlSungism. Like Maoism, also KimIlSungism aims to perpetuate capitalist oppressive despotism and to avoid the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, it is not surprising that New Zealand Maoists praise it so much. Indeed, in what respects to the refusal of communist ideology, they use a very interesting trick in order to deceive working masses. They declare that:

“Comrade Mao Zedong (...) bequeathed to us the immortal and powerful legacy of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought or Maoism. He stands alongside the great communists Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.” (<http://home.clear.net.nz/pages/cpa/>, *General Declaration on Mao Zedong Thought*, December, 1993, edition in English)

As can be seen, New Zealand Maoists try to give themselves a somewhat “anti-revisionist” outlook by mentioning comrade Stalin and by wanting to equalize him with the fascist Mao. But in the end, they can’t help assuming their revisionist character by qualifying themselves as followers of “Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought”, thus rejecting Stalinism. As we had already referred, those who pretend to defend the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin without defending Stalin and Enver Hoxha are nothing more than vulgar revisionists. And those who go even further and support Maoist revisionism while refusing Stalinist-Hoxhaist ideology are undoubtedly among the most dangerous enemies of the world socialist revolution. To refuse and despise comrade Stalin’s glorious teachings means to deny socialist ideology in its entirety, for there cannot be socialist construction without the inestimable and genial lessons from comrade Stalin, the 4th Classic of Marxism-Leninism. Needless to say that New Zealand Maoists do not even utter a word about comrade Enver or about socialist Albania. They are terribly afraid of what the teachings and principles of Hoxhaism can do against Mao’s wicked revisionism. The counter-revolutionaries of the “C”PA know very well that comrade Enver Hoxha scientifically refuted and

denounced Maoism's veritable pro-capitalist nature, but instead of resorting to lies and calumnies against the brilliant Albanian Marxist-Leninists, they prefer to cover comrade Enver's anti-revisionist combat with silence. This alone constitutes a clear sign that Maoists recognize Stalinism-Hoxhaism as the only ideology able to defeat them.

And there is more.

The New Zealand Maoists do another astonishing affirmation when they affirm:

"In leading the new democratic revolution to victory in a country as vast as China, containing one-fourth of humanity, Mao is undeniably a great communist thinker and leader whom the world proletariat and people can be proud of." (<http://home.clear.net.nz/pages/cpa/>, *General Declaration on Mao Zedong Thought*, December, 1993, edition in English)

So, if we are going to believe in the social-fascists of the "C"PA, the fact that Mao operated in a vast country as China is sufficient to automatically conclude that he was "a great communist". Consequently, according to the New Zealand Maoists, the question of whether someone is a great communist or not is entirely dependent on the geographical size of that person's country. This line of thought is so absurd that we are not even going to waste our time with it. Comrade Enver Hoxha was one of the greatest and more brilliant communist leaders that ever lived and he was lived on one of the smallest nations of the world – Albania. On the contrary, Mao was nothing more than a revisionist whose only purpose was to foster the coming to power of the Chinese national bourgeoisie and China's transformation into an imperialist superpower.

And the New Zealand Maoists continue with their anti-communist fever:

"He (Mao) excelled as the master of political and military science in accordance with materialist dialectics. He successfully pursued the theory and strategic line of protracted people's war." (<http://home.clear.net.nz/pages/cpa/>, *General Declaration on Mao Zedong Thought*, December, 1993, edition in English)

By defending Mao's reactionary "peoples' war", New Zealand Maoists are despising the proletariat, keeping it away from the leadership of the masses. Mao's "people's revolutionary war" - which supposedly puts the peasantry in the leadership of the revolution - is nothing more than a pretext to keep the revolution within the limits of the oppressive system, to keep it under bourgeois control. It is a theoretic concept invented by Mao to annihilate and neutralize the influence of the only class which is capable of definitively destroying all kinds of capitalist exploitation: the working class, the proletariat.

Moreover, as if this was not enough, the New Zealand Maoists even dare to affirm:

"Mao's line of socialist revolution and construction through the Great Leap Forward, (...) was tested and proven correct when it (...) resulted in strengthening the industrial foundation of China and produced the bumper crops and ample manufactures for agricultural production and the people's consumption." (<http://home.clear.net.nz/pages/cpa/>, *General Declaration on Mao Zedong Thought*, December, 1993, edition in English)

When reading this statement, we feel tempted to think that it can only be a joke. The Great Leap Forward promoted industry and people's consumption?! Are they kidding?! The GLF was a disaster, it was catastrophic to the Chinese oppressed masses, it spread hunger and disease among Chinese poor people. As we had already explained in the DWM II, the GLF is the prototype of Maoist utopian bourgeois idealism which can only conduct workers to the most desperate misery. Indeed, the main victims of the GLF were the peasants, who were obliged to work 16 hours a day during 4 years to accomplish a totally unrealistic economic program which had not the slightest possibility of being successful. This reveals the truth behind Maoist phraseology about the supposed "defense of the peasants".

And the counter-revolutionaries of the "C"PA are so in love with Mao's distortion of Marxism that just

after having eulogizing the calamitous GLF, they don't think twice before declaring Mao's "Cultural Revolution" as being nothing less than "the higher development of Marxism-Leninism":

"The practical application of the theory of continuing revolution under proletarian class dictatorship through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution succeeded for ten years from 1966 to 1976 and created the most extensive democracy ever experienced by mankind. (...) This theory is of great historic significance for having inaugurated a new and higher stage in the development of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. This is the stage of Mao Zedong Thought or Maoism." (<http://home.clear.net.nz/pages/cpa/>, *General Declaration on Mao Zedong Thought*, December, 1993, edition in English)

The anti-Marxist character of Mao's "Cultural Revolution" is evident if we take into account that it was nothing more than a palace putsch led by one branch of the Chinese national bourgeoisie against another which was trying to seize absolute political-socio-economic power. Mao represented that section of the national bourgeoisie which still aimed at maintaining a "socialist" mask as a disguise to the continuation of wage slavery after the 1949 Maoist "revolution". Mao's section was very clever in making the Chinese workers believe they were really constructing communism, thus keeping them away from the genuinely revolutionary Marxist-Leninist ideology.

On the contrary, the section of the Chinese national bourgeoisie against which the "Cultural Revolution" was directed defended the assumption of an explicitly monopolist, fascist and imperialist-capitalist power free from any of the subterfuges and "leftist" disguises advocated by Mao. In the end, despite Mao's efforts, this last branch of the bourgeoisie managed to triumph and it is currently ruling China. Furthermore, the pro-anarchist "Cultural Revolution" meant in fact the negation of the supremacy role of the Communist Party. Recalling once more the wise words of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement of Comrade Enver Hoxha:

"(...) in fact the course of the so-called Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution shows that Mao Zedong and the other leaders of Chinese revisionism believed it possible to do without the party. In this massive struggle, Mao Zedong did not use the party as a mobilizer of the masses. On the contrary, the youth and student masses were to rise up without the party. The party and various mass organizations were actually dispersed in the early stages of the Chinese Cultural Revolution, and later on the army was called in to calm down the resulting chaos. We supported the Cultural Revolution because we wished to see the downfall of the diehard revisionist and capitalist elements who had usurped key positions in the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese state power. We and other Marxist-Leninists were correct to support the Chinese people at this critical and dangerous moment when China was under a brutal and savage attack from the imperialist-revisionist encirclement. But the question arises: how could the Chinese Cultural Revolution succeed without the leadership of the party or of the proletariat?" (Documents of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement of comrade Enver Hoxha, *U.S. Neo-Revisionism as the American Expression of the International Opportunist Trend of Chinese Revisionism*, Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists, 1979, edition in English)

New Zealand Maoists try to depict the inter-bourgeois contradictions and interests which dominated social-fascist China as being the "continuation of revolution under proletarian dictatorship"! As if there was ever a proletarian dictatorship in China! The truth is that Chinese workers were always under the tyrannical repression of the national bourgeoisie, which did not spared efforts to promote anti-communism both within the country and abroad. But the social-fascist of the "C"PA deny all this:

"Under the leadership of Mao Zedong, China was a bulwark of the world proletarian revolution. In accordance with the principle of proletarian internationalism, the Chinese communist party, proletariat and people of all nationalities did everything they could to unite and strengthen the international communist movement along the general revolutionary line against imperialism, social-imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction." (<http://home.clear.net.nz/pages/cpa/>, *General Declaration on Mao Zedong Thought*, December, 1993, edition in English)

What?!!! To support Pinochet and Franco is to combat reaction? To friendly receive Nixon and

Rockefeller is proletarian internationalism? To despise people's aspirations to socialism in benefit of the imperialist goals of Chinese national bourgeoisie is to struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism? Is all this synonym of "strengthening the international communist movement"? In October of 1975, when Mao was still alive and in power, comrade Enver rightly remarked that:

"In its international policy the Communist Party of China is maintaining wrong, non-Marxist stands. Its policy is not a revolutionary, proletarian class policy, is not pro the revolution. (...) The Communist Party of China poses as though it is assisting the world revolution and the Marxist-Leninist communist and workers' parties, but in reality it is not doing this. (...)

China propagates friendship and alliance with the whole of the «third world» without any political distinction, and especially without making any class distinction, without struggling or doing anything to deepen the contradictions between the working class of these countries and their oppressors, the reactionary bourgeoisie. The Communist Party of China and the policy of the Chinese state are ignoring these contradictions and acting to soften them by openly defending cliques such as those of Pinochet, Franco, Mobutu, and many others. This is not a Marxist-Leninist policy, but an anti-Marxist one, because it is an attempt to quell the class struggle at the international level. Hence, the Communist Party of China and the Chinese state forget their class ally, the world proletariat, underestimate it and highlight their alliance with the heads of the bourgeoisie who are ruling over the proletariat and the peoples. And this kind of alliance, not seen from the class angle, is switched according to circumstances." (Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China, Volume II*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

If there were still doubts about the ultra-reactionary and pro-capitalist nature of the "C"PA, we think that this gives us the final answer. New Zealand Maoists are nothing more than apologists of Maoist fascism, which has transformed China into an imperialist monster whose only objective is to accumulate uncountable profits by asphyxiating the world proletariat in bloody oppression and exploitation. But the perverse aims of the counter-revolutionaries of the "C"PA will ultimately fail. In the future, New Zealand workers will reject any kind of revisionism, including Maoism. They will finally understand that the world socialist revolution based on the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism is the only way to the authentic abolition of world capitalist-imperialist tyranny, and that the implementation of the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world proletarian dictatorship is the only manner to accomplish workers' liberation towards a classless and stateless world society.

6 – African continent

African continent can be considered as the most exploited continent of the entire world. African workers live in the most abject misery; everyday thousands of them perish of famine and preventable diseases. But the unspeakable oppression exercised by the African peoples is nothing new. Indeed, it has begun many centuries ago when European colonizers occupied the continent in search for the immense material resources that Africa possesses. In fact, the white colonialists were not only hunting for raw materials, they were also looking for human workforce who could be easily and endlessly exploited (that was how and why black slavery was born). The period of European colonization lasted until the XX century and was characterized by the most brutal and bloodthirsty oppression of the African workers, who were deliberately kept in the most profound ignorance so they would never acknowledge the barbarity of their living and working conditions. In the second half of the XX century, the so-called "national liberation movements" that supposedly aimed at granting African peoples' freedom and independence initially gave much hope to the ultra-exploited African proletarians. However, they soon realized that those fake "national liberation movements" were struggling against European colonialism only to replace it by American or Soviet imperialism. Indeed, most of them did not even have a progressive (let alone Marxist-Leninist ...) character. So, African toiling masses were not able to do nothing more than observing how European "traditional" imperialism gave place to the equally exploitative neo-imperialism of the Superpowers. As comrade Enver Hoxha highlighted:

“Africa is a mosaic of peoples with an ancient culture. Each African people has its own culture, customs, way of life, which, with some variations, are at a very backward stage, for well-known reasons. The awakening of the bulk of these peoples has only recently begun. *De jure*, the African peoples, in general, have won their freedom and independence. But there can be no talk of genuine freedom and independence, since most of them are still in a colonial or neo-colonial state. Many of these countries are governed by the chieftains of the old tribes who have seized power and rely on the old colonialists, or the US imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists. The methods of government in these states at this stage are not and cannot be other than a marked survival of colonialism. The imperialists are ruling most of the African countries again through their concerns, their capital invested in industry, banks, etc. The overwhelming bulk of the wealth of these countries continues to flow to the metropolises. (...) The African population remained culturally and economically undeveloped and continuously diminished in numbers, declining because of colonial wars, the savage racial persecution, and the traffic in African negroes, who were sent to the metropolises, the United States of America, and other countries to work like animals in the plantations of cotton and other crops, as well as in the heaviest jobs in industry and construction. For these reasons, the African peoples still have a great struggle ahead of them. (...) The policy pursued by the big landowners, the reactionary bourgeoisie, the imperialists and the neo-colonialists is intended to keep the African peoples in permanent bondage, in ignorance, to hinder their social, political and ideological development, and to obstruct their struggle to gain these rights. At present we see that those same imperialists who used to lord it over these peoples in the past, as well as other new imperialists, are trying to penetrate into the African continent, by meddling in every way in the internal affairs of the peoples. As a result of this, the contradictions among imperialists, between the peoples and the bourgeois-capitalist leaderships of most of these countries, and between the peoples and the new colonizers, are becoming more and more severe every day.” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

During many years, due to its “communistic” mask, Soviet social-imperialism was the Superpower better capable of deceiving and paralyzing the aspirations of African workers to genuine socialism. It used to dominate Africa in detriment of American imperialism. But with the fall of Soviet empire, the American plutocrats did not waste time before increasing oppression over African peoples with the purpose of making the profits of their imperialist corporations soar.

Recently, also Chinese social-imperialism has extended its claws over Africa and it has been engaged in a fierce struggle against American imperialism for control over the incalculable wealth and resources of the continent. But despite the expansion of Chinese social-imperialism in Africa – where it has already managed to put many countries under its neo-colonialist sway – there is not abundance of Maoist parties and/or organizations in this continent. In truth, they are quite rare. In Chad, there is the *Chadian Action for Unity and Socialism* (in French: *Action Tchadienne pour l'Unité et le Socialisme – ACTUS / PRPE*) - a neo-revisionist organization closely related with the ultra-opportunistic Workers' Party of Belgium – whose leaders treacherously affirm that:

“The first stage of the struggle of our party, the ACTUS / PRPE (...) consists in working in favor of the accomplishment of the abolition of the pro-imperialist dictatorship.” (Djimadoun, *l'Action Tchadienne pour l'Unité et le Socialisme / Parti Révolutionnaire Populaire et Écologique*, *Letter sent to the Comintern (SH)*, July, 2010, translated from French language)

But these words are complete lies. Far from waging a revolutionary and uncompromising combat against the pro-imperialist despotism which is currently governing Chad, the social-fascists of the ACTUS happily participate in the electoral masquerades fabricated by general Déby (Chad's capitalist dictator):

“In the parliamentary election held on 21 April 2002, the party (ACTUS) won 1 out of 155 seats.” (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chadian_Action_for_Unity_and_Socialism, *Chadian Action for Unity and Socialism (Action Tchadienne pour l'unité et le socialisme)*, edition in English)

It is obvious that a party which gladly involves itself in such ridiculous maneuvers whose only purpose is to deceive Chadian workers about the ultra-exploitative system oppressing them can never be nothing

more than an ultra-reactionary and anti-socialist party.

Another of the very few Maoist African parties is the “Communist” Party of South Africa (“Marxist-Leninist”) which we are going to analyze right now.

6.1 – Communist Party of South Africa (Marxist-Leninist)

South Africa is by far one of the most – if not the most – industrialized country of the whole African continent. Contrary to what happens in many parts of this region, South Africa is a nation in which capitalist productive relations are highly developed and in which there is a very significant number of urban proletarians. As we know that the development of capitalist productive relations necessarily cause the deepening of workers’ revolutionary conscience, it is not at all surprising that South African ruling classes try to find manners of opposing this awakening consciousness by using Maoist revisionism to deceive South African workers. This is why one of the rare African Maoist organizations is located precisely in South Africa, a country whose working class is among the most repressed and abused of all.

After centuries under British colonial dominion, South African toiling masses obtained formal independence only to find themselves under the ultra-reactionary rule of the white racist plutocrats who imposed a system of terrible oppression not only over black workers, but also over poor white workers. The purpose of this system was to divide proletarians according to race, thus preventing them from uniting against their common exploiters. Simultaneously, under the pretext that black people were “racially inferior”, South African dominant classes kept black proletarians in the most loathful poverty and degradation with the aim of preserving them as a vast amount of hungry and desperate human workforce to be easily subjugated by the white plutocrats, who made (and continue to make...) outrageous superprofits from the exploitation of these black workers. However, this openly reactionary system involved many risks because it could foster the acquisition of a communist conscience by both black and white proletarians, so obvious and explicit was the class character of the South African racist socio-economic system and state. It was a dangerous situation not only to the local dominant classes, but also to the American imperialists which supported the highly profitable Apartheid system. In order to avoid that South African workers advanced towards an authentically socialist ideology, it was fabricated a plan whose objective was to keep South African workers in dreadful life conditions while giving them a false impression of “freedom”. And so the masquerade of the alleged “end of the Apartheid system” was put in place in the early 90’s. This masquerade managed to mislead many workers who sincerely thought they would live in a “multiracial democracy”.

An essential instrument used to deceive South African proletarians was the formation of a tiny black bourgeoisie whose existence is willingly supported by the same white plutocrats that kept the Apartheid system alive for decades. This black bourgeoisie - of which Nelson Mandela’s pro-capitalist African National Congress is the best example – proved to be the best managers and protectors of the white monopolists’ rule. Needless to say that the vast majority of black workers knew no improvements in their living and working conditions with the replacement of the former system of open Apartheid by the present system of hidden Apartheid.

Initially, just like occurred during the open Apartheid, South African exploiting classes continued to be basically of comprador type. Recently, South African bourgeoisie started to engage in imperialist expansion and nowadays this country can already be considered as a regional imperialist power, but despite this it continues to be under the influence of world imperialism in general and of American imperialism in particular. This is unsurprising if we take into account that the end of the explicit Apartheid did not mean the slightest change of the socio-economic exploitative relations; the dominant classes remained fundamentally the same. However, there was a section of the already referred black bourgeoisie which started to want something more than mere alms from the foreign imperialists and from the white capitalists. The main tasks that the local monopolists and the foreign imperialists assign to the black bourgeoisie consist in contributing to hide that the oppressive dominion of the white racist plutocrats and of foreign imperialism were continuing just like during the epoch of open Apartheid. But

as time passed, this black bourgeoisie divided in two factions: one of purely comprador type which serves the interests of the old South African pro-imperialist elites, and the other of national type which aims to seize politico-economic power in order to achieve a better place within the world capitalist market, in order to establish its rule without having to give most of the profits to the local and foreign imperialists.

And it's precisely the interests of this national bourgeoisie - whose main goal is the strengthening of South African imperialism - which the "Communist" Party of South Africa ("Marxist-Leninist") represents. South African Maoists try to disguise this truth behind "revolutionary" phraseology. They state that:

"In line with the reorganisation of international production major efforts on the part of the South African government are afoot to establish Export Processing Zones (EPZ's) or so-called Special Economic Zones (SEZ's) as an attraction to foreign direct investors whereby they can reap maximum profits including repatriation of all profits and labour flexibilization that includes the right of the bosses to hire and fire workers at will and no trade union protection for workers whatsoever." (<http://www.icmlpo.de/>, ICMLPO 8th International Conference - Contribution of CPSA (ML) – Country report South Africa, May, 2004, edition in English)

As can be seen, South African Maoists criticize the "Special Economic Zones" that exist in their country. In fact, these "SEZ" were invented by South African bourgeoisie comprador in benefit of foreign imperialist monopolist corporations which are able to maximize their profits through limitless exploitation of South African workers. But the counter-revolutionaries of the "C"PSA ("ML") could not care less about the well being of those workers. They are just using them as a pretext to criticize the "SEZ" because they perceive them as being closely related with the dominion of the comprador bourgeoisie, whom they want to combat and overthrow with the aim of replacing it by that of the national bourgeoisie. Indeed, the anger of the South African Maoists against the "repatriation of profits" made by foreign imperialist investors illustrates very well the fact that the social-fascists of the "C"PSA ("ML") are not in the least concerned about the huge oppression that those foreign imperialist investors exercise over South African proletariat. The South African Maoists are just upset because instead of going to the pockets of the foreign imperialists and of the bourgeois comprador, they would prefer to see those profits going to the pockets of their own national bourgeois bosses.

And the neo-revisionists of the "C"PSA ("ML") don't hesitate before affirming:

"In conclusion the CPSA (ML) is today active in a situation of the following developments:

All parties that come from the old national liberation movement against the racist minority regimes e.g. the African National Congress (ANC) (...) have jettisoned the course of national liberation as anti-imperialist, have embraced neocolonialist parliamentarism and are now parties of compradorisation who are prepared and actually serve the interests of monopoly capitalists and their representative institutions at home and abroad." (<http://www.icmlpo.de/>, ICMLPO 8th International Conference - Contribution of CPSA (ML) – Country report South Africa, May, 2004, edition in English)

First of all, we must not forget that the ANC was never a genuinely revolutionary movement. It was just a bourgeois-capitalist organization totally dedicated to save and defend the interests of the white plutocrats and of the foreign imperialists through contributing to the enforcement of a fake "multiracial democracy" only to mislead South African workers. However, right in the beginning of its course, the ANC had indeed a somewhat "anti-imperialist" and even "leftist" appearance because it was much repressed during the epoch of explicit Apartheid. This used to happen when the white monopolists were still not yet able to recognize the utility of the ANC as a valuable instrument to keep South African proletarians away from communist ideology. But as the ANC was nothing more than a mere bourgeois movement, its leaders didn't even think twice before defending the interests of the internal and external oppressors of South African toiling masses. If the South African Maoists were genuine revolutionaries, they would not criticize the ANC not only because of its "compradorization" but mainly because of its intrinsically pro-capitalist, pro-imperialist and anti-socialist nature. But as the South African Maoists are only there to promote the ascension of their country's national bourgeoisie, they are only worried about the

“compradorization”, that is, about the strengthening of that branch of the South African bourgeoisie they aim to defeat:

“The South African economy is stagnant viewed from the long-term basis (...). And when talk of growth is being bandied about, this refers mostly to investments in shares in the stock exchange (Johannesburg) and the creation of new millionaires who do the running for the supermonopolies and their banks - the compradorisation of former trade union leaders and former members of parliament including ex-ministers. In such a situation “job creation” is a mythical phrase!”
(<http://www.icmlpo.de/>, ICMLPO 8th International Conference - Contribution of CPSA (ML) – Country report South Africa, May, 2004, edition in English)

So, far from advocating authentically revolutionary changes, far from defending socialism and the end of all repression and exploitation, the South African Maoists just scream about “neo-colonization and compradorization” – obviously trying to attract South African workers to the side of the national bourgeoisie. In fact, South African black and white proletarians live in the most absolute penury and the slogans of the “C”PSA (“ML”) supposedly against imperialism and neo-colonialism certainly sound appealing to them. They even may feel tempted to support South African Maoists without knowing that the “C”PSA (“ML”) merely aims to conquer them to foster the seizure of power by the national bourgeoisie, thus replacing one exploitative rule by another. And the same happens relatively to the compradorization of South African trade unions. The social-fascists of the “C”PSA (“ML”) don’t criticize it because they want to found genuinely Marxist-Leninist red trade unions. Quite on the contrary, they perceive that South African revisionist trade unions are under the dominance of the bourgeoisie comprador and they want to change this situation by putting those trade unions under the control of the national bourgeoisie. As can be concluded, everything here is solely related with inter-bourgeois contradictions and rivalries.

Indeed, the counter-revolutionaries of the “C”PSA (“ML”) try to catch workers in their revisionist trap by pretending to “denounce recolonization”:

“All these activities of the South African government and its masters in the form of the supermonopolies and their megabanks do not have much impact on the lessening of the unemployment levels because less secure, contract labour is employed in fewer numbers than the more consistent joblosses as a result of the structural crisis of imperialism and lean production on the basis of the reorganisation of international production and recolonization.”
(<http://www.icmlpo.de/>, ICMLPO 8th International Conference - Contribution of CPSA (ML) – Country report South Africa, May, 2004, edition in English)

As can be observed, South African Maoists engage in typically reformist complaints about job flexibilization and unemployment. Both these phenomenons are inherent to capitalism and can only be definitively abolished when capitalism itself is annihilated. And this because capitalist-imperialist search for maximum profits ultimately dictates the perpetuation of these two evils. Of course, it is not wrong for a Marxist-Leninist party to combat labour flexibilization and unemployment under the condition of always subordinating this struggle to the higher final objectives of socialism and communism. But the South African Maoists do just the opposite by presenting this kind of social-democratic garbage as an end in itself.

As we had already mentioned, the South African proletariat is undoubtedly among the most exploited and tortured proletariats of the whole world. Both black and white South African workers have endured awful misery and have felt the harshest forms of capitalist repression and exploitation in their own skin. Therefore, we Stalinist-Hoxhaists firmly believe that they will soon realize the gigantic anti-Marxist fraud that Maoism in general and South African Maoism in particular truly are.

7 – Final conclusions

The purpose of this Declaration of War against the Maoists III is to denounce the anti-socialist and reactionary nature of Maoist revisionism throughout the world. In order to accomplish this objective, we tried to present a sufficiently comprehensive collection of Maoist parties and organizations from all continents. And in the end, we conclude that despite the differences inherent to the socio-economic development of each country, the main counter-revolutionary principles of Maoism are always present in all those parties: systematic refusal of proletarian power and hegemony, staunch defence of the “new democracy” as a mean to neutralise any possibility of socialist revolution, support of the “theory of the two revolutions” in order to ensure the consolidation of the socio-economic dominion of the national bourgeoisie, etc... In truth, one of the main characteristics of virtually all Maoist parties is their firm defence of the interests of the national bourgeoisie in their respective countries. This is the true reason behind their “anti-imperialist” phraseology. This stand is far from being surprising. After all, Maoist revisionism was born precisely to promote and advance the interests of the Chinese national bourgeoisie, and therefore the Maoist parties are playing the same role within their own nations.

We exposed the Maoists by applying to the dialectical teaching on the contradiction between the different interests of the national bourgeoisie and the comprador bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries where the Maoist parties are active. Of course, Maoism is not only useful for the elements of the national bourgeoisie, however for the whole bourgeois class. In conclusion, we point to the important teaching of Hoxhaism that the proletariat will refuse every subordination under the patronage of the one elements of the bourgeoisie who are in struggle against the other elements of the bourgeoisie. **The overthrow of capitalism is only possible if the exploited and oppressed classes subordinate under the patronage of the only revolutionary class - the proletariat.**

To improve the conditions for the victory of the socialist revolution, the proletariat takes advantage of this contradiction between different elements of the bourgeoisie, however only in such a way that this will improve the overall conditions for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie as a *whole* class. The socialist revolution means overthrow of the *whole* class of the bourgeoisie, thus includes both the national and comprador elements.

If the existence of the whole bourgeoisie is endangered by the socialist revolution of the proletariat, then the Maoists will be forced to defend the *whole* bourgeoisie - *including* the comprador bourgeoisie. Because: in the last consequence the Maoists support *all* counter-revolutionary forces to thwart the victory of the socialist revolution, to thwart the revolutionary overthrow of the rule of the bourgeois class.

Indeed, if the activities of the Maoists in the single countries are very important to understand the dreadful anti-communist role played by them, we can never forget the dialectical relationship that exists between the global and national tactics of the Maoists in regard of their common struggle against the socialist world revolution, against the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism: Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha. In fact, the Maoists are in **first line** a **global** enemy of the whole **world** proletariat in its struggle for the **world** revolutionary overthrow of the **world** bourgeoisie (this without minimizing their role as lackeys of the national bourgeoisie and enemies of the socialist revolution in the single countries, of course). Therefore, it is absolutely necessary to combat the Maoist World Movement **dialectically both** on an international and national scale.

The final aim of all the revisionist tricks and misleading invented by the Maoists in the single countries is to prevent the outcome of the world socialist revolution. It is impossible to accomplish socialist victory at a world scale without achieving victory in the single countries. That's why the Maoists do their utmost to paralyse our efforts to promote the genial principles of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism.

Nonetheless, there is a division among the Maoists relatively to the tactic used by them to avoid world socialist revolution and the world proletarian dictatorship: some Maoists defend the creation of a Maoist “Communist International” in order to neutralise and defeat the revolutionary influence of the Comintern (SH) at a world scale; while other Maoists reject this idea and continue to perceive their counter-revolutionary activities in the single countries as being sufficient to prevent the expansion of the Comintern (SH). Of course, this division does not represent any kind of substantial split among the Maoists: they all have as final goal to avoid world socialist revolution. This division respects to mere tactical disagreements within the Maoist movement. Both Maoist tactics (as a whole global counter-revolutionary system) are dangerous for the world revolution which cannot be victorious without the

victory of the socialist revolutions in the single countries.

One of the main Maoist organizations which supports the foundation of a Maoist “Communist International” is the Colombian “Communist” Workers’ Union Marxist-Leninist-Maoist [in Spanish: *Revolución Obrera Comunista (Marxista-Leninista-Maoista)*], whose ultra-reactionary character we have already unmasked in this text. It is obvious that the objective of the Colombian Maoists is to combat us, Stalinist-Hoxhaists. For this reason, they don’t lose a single opportunity to slander our glorious and invincible Hoxhaist ideology:

“(...) a Communist International of new type is an essential instrument to (...) prevent the catastrophe to which imperialism has led us. But against this purpose (...) there is opportunism, which is nothing more than bourgeois ideology and politics within working class movement (...). This is precisely the role of the Trotskyite and Hoxhaist currents (...) whose theories betrayed revolution and surrendered in front of the dominant classes.” (Documents of the CWU, *Mensaje Conjunto a los Obreros de Todos los Países ¡Al Combate por el Triunfo de la Revolución Proletaria Mundial!*, May, 2012, translated from Spanish language)

“(...) there is an objective tendency within the international communist movement towards the reorganization of the Marxist-Leninists-Maoists (...) Therefore, we understand the desperation of the Hoxhaist International (Comintern SH) which on 6th of February published a “Declaration of War against the Maoists”, an attack which, as happened with the trotskysts, shows the wicked face of the bourgeois detachments inside the communist movement (...).” (Documents of the CWU, *Semanário Revolución Obrera*, 18th April, 2011, translated from Spanish language)

Both these abject statements from the Colombian Maoists are totally understandable. Their “project” of founding a Maoist International has the purpose of struggling against our heroic Stalinist-Hoxhaist International, which is the only capable of allowing the world proletariat to play its historical role as the vanguard of the world oppressed masses. The Colombian social-fascists use the horrendous calumny which consists in equating the brilliant Hoxhaist ideology with Trotskyism and in qualifying the true Marxist-Leninists as “bourgeois lackeys”. Unfortunately for them, reality is the opposite of what they idealize in their pathologically pro-capitalist minds. It is Maoism which plays the same pro-bourgeois role of Trotskyism, and the Maoists are the ones who shamelessly deceive world workers through hiding their abhorrent reactionarism behind fake “leftist” phraseology and “socialistic” masks. The Albanian Marxist-Leninists once made an affirmation which perfectly synthesizes the origins and aims of Maoist revisionism:

“Life shows that Mao Zedong was indeed in favor of the maintenance and strengthening of the Chinese bourgeoisie, so China could become an imperialist superpower. The restitution of the means of production, wealth, profits and surplus value to the business men and to the industrialists which created the conditions to the perpetuation of the oppression and exploitation of the working class was not a fortuity measure; quite on the contrary, it was the expression of the opportunist stands of Mao Zedong. Indeed, as an anti-proletarian theory and practice, the “Mao Zedong thought” has also become a strong supporter of capitalism at an international scale.” (Naun Guxho, *La Pensée MaoTseToung, theorie et pratique antiproletariennes*, 1979, translated from the French language)

Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism is a genuinely revolutionary and communist ideology which will lead the world proletarians towards the complete abolition of all forms of oppression and exploitation, towards the implementation of the world proletarian dictatorship, towards world socialism and world communism. During this process, world proletarians led by the Comintern (SH) will struggle against world capitalism-imperialism with all their forces and they will stop at nothing until the world bourgeoisie and everything related with it are totally and definitively exterminated. They will wage uncountable fierce and gory battles, but in the end they will undoubtedly triumph over the world exploitative reactionary classes, of which the Maoists are among the most dangerous representatives.

World workers - unite!

Don't be deceived by Maoist treachery!

Maoists are the lackeys of the world capitalist-imperialist oppressors!

Maoist revisionism only wants to perpetuate tyrannical wage slavery!

**Maoism gave birth to Chinese social-imperialism which exercises
excruciating repression over the world proletariat!**

Let's combat Maoist social-fascism with all your might!

**Long live Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism - the only authentically
revolutionary ideology!**

Long live the world proletariat!

Long live world socialist revolution!

Long live world proletarian dictatorship!

Long live world socialism and world communism!

Long live the Comintern (SH)!

Index

1 – Introduction (page 1)

2 – American continent (page 3)

2.1 – Communist Workers' Union (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist) – Colombia (page 5)

2.2 – Communist Party of Bolivia (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist) (page 13)

2.3 - Communist Party of Peru (Marxist-Leninist) and Communist Party of Panama (Marxist-Leninist) (page 18)

2.4 - Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and Revolutionary Communist Party of the USA (page 23)

3 – European Continent (page 32)

3.1 – Communist Party of Great Britain (Marxist-Leninist) (page 35)

3.2 - Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany (MLPD) (page 48)

3.3 – Portuguese Workers' Communist Party (page 56)

3.4 - Committees to Support Resistance for Communism (CARC) and (new) Italian Communist Party (page 60)

3.5 – Communist Organization of Greece (KOE) (page 63)

3.6 - Workers' Party of Belgium and the Russian All-Union Communist Party Bolsheviks (page 72)

4 – Asian Continent (page 75)

4.1 – Bolshevik Party of North-Kurdistan-Turkey (page 76)

4.2 – Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) (page 81)

4.3 – Communist Party of the Philippines (page 84)

4.4 - Maoist Bolshevik Reorganisation Movement of the Purba Banglar Sarbahara Party – Bangladesh (page 91)

4.5 – Communist Party of Bhutan (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist) (page 95)

5 – Australasian continent (page 100)

5.1 – Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) (page 101)

5.2 – Communist Party of Aotearoa (New Zealand) (page 108)

6 – African continent (page 113)

6.1 – Communist Party of South Africa (Marxist-Leninist) (page 115)

7 – Final conclusions (page 119)

Declaration of War on Maoists

Part IV

Maoism and "Anti-Maoism"

a dual ideology of anti-communism

1 – Introduction

The writing of the chapter IV of the Declaration of War on Maoists has been a project for us since more than one year ago. The importance of not letting our anti-Maoist struggle stand still was always evident to us after the first three chapters of the DWM. But unfortunately, various kinds of tasks for the Comintern (Stalinist-Hoxhaist - SH) have prevented us from accomplishing this purpose until now. Finally, it is time to continue developing that feature of our Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist-Hoxhaist (MLSH) ideology which is so crucial to our communist goals:

anti-Maoism.

The anti-Maoism of the Comintern (SH) is the only genuine proletarian anti-Maoism because it is exclusively based on *Stalinism-Hoxhaism*.

Those who openly or hiddenly struggle against Stalinist-Hoxhaist anti-Maoism of the Comintern (Stalinist-Hoxhaist - SH) by replacing it through various branches of bourgeois “anti-Maoism” - are enemies of the world proletariat and lackeys of the world bourgeoisie.

With this Chapter IV of the DWM we draw our principled demarcation-line against all hues of so called “anti-Maoism” which violate Stalinist-Hoxhaist anti-Maoism, in particular, and thus contradict with the lessons of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism, in general.

The antagonist class-character of proletarian and bourgeois anti-Maoism is irreconcilable.

Therefore the Stalinist-Hoxhaists struggle against any reconciliation and centrism between proletarian anti-Maoism and bourgeois (fake) “anti-Maoism”.

Our goal is the victory of the socialist world revolution on the basis of the lessons of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism which we must defend against Maoism and also against so called “anti-Maoism”. The victory of the lessons of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism depends on the defeat of both Maoism and bourgeois “anti-Maoism”- namely including the defeat of all attempts of centrist reconciliation.

It is impossible to defeat Maoism without defeat of all the various forms of bourgeois “anti-Maoism”.

The world bourgeoisie tries to defeat the lessons of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism by means of playing a double game between Maoism and bourgeois “anti-Maoism”.

Unmasking the counter-revolutionary dual ideology of bourgeois Maoism and bourgeois “anti-Maoism” - this is the purpose of this chapter IV.

It is well known that Maoism is a bourgeois ideology on an international stage- used by the world bourgeoisie as an ideological weapon against the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism. However, Maoism turned out to be not strong enough against the Hoxhaist weapon of anti-Maoism. Therefore, the world bourgeoisie was forced to create her own anti-Hoxhaist branches of “anti-Maoism” for the purpose of deceiving, splitting and liquidating the true anti-Maoist forces, thus the Stalinist-Hoxhaists without exception. The world bourgeoisie must scatter the Stalinist-Hoxhaist forces by applying this double windmill, while we Stalinist-Hoxhaists must disarm this bourgeois eyewash. And we will begin to thwart this bourgeois “anti-Maoist” sham by means of this Part IV.

* * *

In our three previous chapter of DWM, we had tried to expose and unmask Maoist revisionism in itself. We had tried to explain its causes, origins and consequences to the world workers, so they could understand the true character of Maoism as an anti-communist and reactionary ideology whose reason of being is no other than saving world capitalism-imperialism-revisionism from the flames of armed socialist proletarian revolution.

Our DWM I consisted mainly of an anti-Maoism Manifesto, a document where the general demarcation-line between Stalinism-Hoxhaism and Maoist revisionism was drawn and where the irremediable opposition between the teachings of the 5 Classics and Mao’s anti-socialist “thoughts” was firmly denounced:

“Today it is impossible to bring about the victory of the socialist world revolution and to fulfil the tasks of world socialism, it is impossible to strengthen the internationalist unity of the world proletariat, it is impossible to fulfil its world-historical mission without the complete break with Maoism, without explaining to the masses the inevitability of drawing a principled demarcation-line towards the revisionist Mao Zedong Ideas. We defeated the Soviet revisionism and we shall defeat Chinese revisionism as well. There cannot be any unification between the

ideology of the Maoists and Marxism-Leninism! There cannot be any unification between the proletarian and the bourgeois ideology! Down with all currents of reconciliation between Marxism-Leninism and Maoism! So called “Marxism-Leninism-Maoism” is neo-revisionism, is anti-revisionism in words and revisionism in deeds! Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism - this is definitely the genuine world-proletarian ideology of today. Anything else is bourgeois ideology and has to be defeated. With the beginning of this new decade, the Comintern (SH) makes a long-overdue and historically important step concerning the continuation of the struggle against revisionist Mao Zedong - Ideas. The Comintern (SH) is sticking to the old correct line of the world communist movement: Revisionism was, is and still remains as the main danger in the world communist movement. Essence of revisionism is nothing but bourgeois ideology.” (Documents of the Comintern (SH), *Declaration of War on Maoists I*, version in English)

The objectives and intentions of this DWM I would serve as a guide-line to our two subsequent DWM, which were aimed at continuing and completing the first one. Our DWM II was intended to buttress and confirm the conclusions of the DWM I through an historical analysis of Maoism’s roots from the very beginning until more recent events related with it (the Nepalese situation, Indian Naxalites, Pol Pot, etc...). In this, we used many different sources coming not only from the 5 Classics, but also from bourgeois and even Maoist forces that displayed the rightness of our assertions. Generally, our DWM II noticed Maoism’s origins as a class ideology defending the interests of the Chinese “national” bourgeoisie against its compradore and foreign imperialist rivals and promoting its interests during its quest of becoming China’s indisputable ruling exploitative oppressive class and of transforming the country into an imperialist superpower – as it is already the case nowadays. Of course, we couldn’t have failed to unmask and note the anti-communist, reactionary, racist, chauvinist, opportunist bourgeois-capitalist, social-fascist, pro-imperialist, wage slavagist essence and nature of Maoist / Chinese revisionism (and all these characteristics are completely shared with all other kinds of revisionism, neo-revisionism and anti-communism), particularly when opposed to confronted with the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism. Maoism always aimed at hiding and perpetuating bourgeois-capitalist elements, exploitation and class rule under “socialistic” cloaks while keeping exploited and oppressed classes away from the infallible *invictus* teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism, that is, from Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism (MLSH). But its true nature can never be changed, and a more attentive study of Mao’s writings and positions inescapably reveal Maoism as the reactionary and pro-imperialist ideology it really is:

“When analysing Maoist revisionism, we see that the bourgeoisie united all the old revisionist ideas and tried to dress them in a “revolutionary” and “leftist” cloak in order to deceive the working classes. However, behind its “revolutionary” outlook, Maoism was an anti-Marxist tendency from the very beginning. (...) We, Stalinists-Hoxhaists, are the only true defenders of the communist ideology, and we are entitled to triumph over the social-imperialist and social-fascist “Maoist movement”. Maoism is nothing more than a disgusting pro-capitalist and

reactionary ideological aberration. The “Mao Zedong Thought” is not a development but a deformation of Marxism-Leninism and thus it will inevitably disappear as will happen with everything which is of bourgeois nature (...).” (Documents of the Comintern (SH), *Declaration of War on Maoists II*, version in English)

Given the tremendous importance of anti-Maoist struggle by the Comintern (SH), our following DWM III consisted in exposing the revisionist and anti-socialist positions of many Maoist parties and organizations from around the world. This is undoubtedly very useful for the world proletariat, because it permitted it to take account of concrete examples of Maoist opportunism provided not by us, but by the Maoist parties and organizations themselves. At the same time, we displayed the direct dialectical relationship between anti-Maoist struggle on national and international scale:

«(...) we conclude that despite the differences inherent to the socio-economic development of each country, the main counter-revolutionaries principles of Maoism are always present in all those parties: systematic refusal of proletarian power and hegemony, staunch defence of the “new democracy” as a mean to neutralise any possibility of socialist revolution, support of the “theory of the two revolutions” in order to ensure the consolidation of the socio-economic dominion of the national bourgeoisie, etc... In truth, one of the main characteristics of virtually all Maoist parties is their firm defense of the interests of the national bourgeoisie in their respective countries. This is the true reason behind their “anti-imperialist” phraseology. (...) if the activities of the Maoists in the single countries are very important to understand the dreadful anti-communist role played by them, we can never forget the dialectical relationship that exists between the global and national tactics of the Maoists in regard of their common struggle against the socialist world revolution, against the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism: Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha. In fact, the Maoists are in first line a global enemy of the whole world proletariat in its struggle for the world revolutionary overthrow of the world bourgeoisie (this without minimizing their role as lackeys of the national bourgeoisie and enemies of the socialist revolution in the single countries, of course). Therefore, it is absolutely necessary to combat the Maoist World Movement dialectically both on an international and national scale. The final aim of all the revisionist tricks and misleading invented by the Maoists in the single countries is to prevent the outcome of the world socialist revolution. » (Documents of the Comintern (SH), *Declaration of War on Maoists III*, version in English)

So, after these three comprehensive DWM, we must ask: after them, why do we still need one more DWM? Why after them, do we need the fourth chapter of the DWM? And the answer is simple: because our struggle against Maoist revisionist poison is still not completed and its aims are still not accomplished. In order to promote its successful development, we decided to elaborate one more chapter of the DWM, this time focused on the unmasking of the anti-communist “criticisms” against Maoism. Therefore, the purpose of this article will be to denounce the bourgeois-capitalist nature of the false “criticisms” of the revisionists, neo-revisionists and other opportunists who call

themselves “anti-Maoists” but who are nothing else than agents of the bourgeoisie within the communist world movement.

Neo-Maoists are Anti-Maoists in words but Maoists in deeds.

There can be no genuine combat against Maoism if we don't do it from authentically communist positions, if we launch it from the positions of the political-economic-social-ideological system that originates Maoism: capitalism-imperialism. Thus, it is our duty not to let our struggle against Maoism to stand still, but to always encourage and continue it until the final complete triumph of Stalinism-Hoxhaism over Maoist revisionism. It is very important to distinguish our proletarian ideology of Anti-Maoism from all the different branches of bourgeois so called “anti-Maoism”. It is very important to distinguish different positions from which Maoism is criticized. Anti-Maoism of the Comintern (SH) is dangerous for the world bourgeoisie because we unmask the bourgeois-reactionary nature of the Maoist ideology. So what is the task of the revisionists and neo-revisionists in the question of anti-Maoism? The world bourgeoisie is forced to liquidate Stalinist-Hoxhaist anti-Maoism. And the method of the world bourgeoisie is this: assimilation of the proletarian anti-Maoism into bourgeois “anti-Maoism”, thus for the purpose to replace the revolutionary Stalinist-Hoxhaist ideology of anti-Maoism by the counter-revolutionary ideology of fake “anti-Maoism”. Stalinism-Hoxhaism is the only correct ideology which is able to totally and definitively defeat and destroy it to its very foundations. But there are many other branches of so called "Anti-Maoism" which intend to deceive the working class. With this article, we don't have the pretention of exposing absolutely all of them. But we will try to denounce at least the most relevant among of them, namely the ones whose spreading reached dimensions that turned them into an instrument of anti-communist deception particularly dangerous to the world proletariat and other working exploited and oppressed classes. These are the false “anti-Maoisms” practiced by Soviet revisionists, by Trotskyists, by Titoists, by open anti-communists and even by Mao's successors in China. Especially, we will unmask the “anti-Maoism” of the neo-revisionist leaders of the so called “4 and ½ Heads” and their half-heartedly and hypocritical attitude against Maoism.

Let's move forward to the unmasking of Soviet revisionist “anti-Maoism”!

2 – Analysis of different types of false “anti-Maoism”

2.1 – Soviet revisionists' false “anti-Maoism”

and the double game of Pseudo-“Sino-Soviet-Split” - its origins and background -



Mao with Khrushchev

The first type of false “anti-Maoism” that we will analyze is that of the Soviet revisionists. The sham supposed “Sino-Soviet split” is expression of the struggle between the Soviet-revisionists and the Chinese revisionists (which, as we shall see, was in fact no split at all, it was a “split”, “dispute”, “divergence”, “struggle”, “disagreement”, etc. that never existed...) that began in the 1950’s and lasted until the late 1980’s in open and hidden forms, until Soviet social-imperialism (social-imperialism means: “socialism” in words, but imperialism in deeds) disintegrated, disappeared and was replaced by Chinese social-imperialism as a world superpower.

The totally false so-called “Sino-Soviet split” was given huge publicity in the Western bourgeois-capitalist world at the time. It is still considered by Western capitalist ideologues as “one of the most important events of the Cold War”:

“The “Sino-Soviet split” was one of the key events of the Cold War, equal in importance to the construction of the Berlin Wall, the Cuban Missile Crisis, the Second Vietnam War, and Sino-American rapprochement.” (Lorenz M. Lüthi, *The “Sino-Soviet split”: Cold War in the Communist World*, Princeton UP. p. 1, 2010, edition in English)

We will note that this attitude is in sharp contrast to the one adopted by those same Western capitalist ideologues concerning the Soviet-Albanian split and the later 1978 Sino-Albanian split that were indeed based upon unsolvable ideological disagreements, while this was ever the case with the false alleged “Sino-Soviet split” which, as we shall see, was nothing more than a battle between two revisionist countries and their respective ruling social-fascist cliques in which each one of them wanted to conquer indisputable control over revisionist world, in which each one of them wanted to ensure absolute dominance as the world’s main imperialist power (social-fascism means: “socialism” in words and fascism in deeds). Even bourgeois ideologues at the time openly commented on this, affirming that false “Sino-Soviet split”:

“(...) eventually resulted in a dirty game, in something much less dignified than Soviet-Albanian split.” (Thomas Schreiber, *Enver Hoxha – Le sultan rouge*, Editions Jean-Claude Lattès, 1994, translated from French language)

Contrary to what occurred with phony “Sino-Soviet split”, Soviet-Albanian and Sino-Albanian splits were indeed based on authentic ideological irreconcilable divergences between revisionist-capitalist Soviet Union and China - on their way to becoming imperialist superpowers - and comrade Enver’s socialist Albania, the guiding light of the world proletariat at the time and the last country of authentic proletarian dictatorship in the world. Of course, capitalist-imperialist-revisionist ideologues had not any kind of interest in allowing that these genuine disputes between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism/social-fascism became widely known, as it involved the spreading of the genuinely communist positions of the Albanian Marxists-Leninists-Stalinists, something that they didn’t want world oppressed and exploited classes to know. Therefore, only within Albanian and within the structures of the parties which were members of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement of comrade Enver Hoxha these splits were adequately reported. Even nowadays, world bourgeoisie continues to minimize their importance with the referred purposes. And this includes also the elements of the “4 ½ Heads” who keep silence on it, respectively who try to distort the anti-Maoism of comrade Enver Hoxha.

As we already noted, much different is the treatment received by the fake “Sino-Soviet split”, which is still nowadays presented by the bourgeois-capitalist media and “scholars” as a “profound ideological divergence” between “the two biggest communist countries at the time”:

“The “Sino-Soviet split” (1960–1989) was the worsening of political and ideological relations between the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) during the Cold War. In the 1960s, China and the Soviet Union were the two largest Communist states in the world, (...) and (...) the doctrinal differences proved intractable (...).”(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sino-Soviet_split, *Wikipedia*, version in English)

But is this assertion by bourgeois-capitalist Wikipedia correct? Is it true that the ““Sino-Soviet split”” arose between “two large communist countries”? And that the main reasons behind would be “doctrinal-ideological differences”? In order to answer these important questions, it is necessary to study and qualify the political-socio-economic systems ruling both Soviet Union and China at the time. And this because the “deep ideological disagreements” between Soviet Union and China at the time of the “Sino-Soviet split” could have only been genuine if they were coming from two countries having irremediably opposite political-socio-economic orders, namely capitalism and socialism. And this because, just like conscience is determined by conditions of existence, it is the structure which determines the superstructure - including its ideological part. This a basic law and an essential teaching of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism. So, the “intractable ideological opposition” that supposedly caused “Sino-Soviet split” could only exist if it was originated and backed by real opposition in the

economic structure, in the nature of material conditions and productive forces and relations between Soviet Union and China at that epoch.

But as we will note right now, the false alleged divergences between Soviet Union and China during the “Sino-Soviet split” could only have been baseless, as both countries were revisionist countries ruled by bourgeois-capitalist cliques aspiring to become social-imperialist superpowers.

In our three parts of DWM and also in our articles, we had already proved that China was never a socialist country, but from 1949 on it was merely a bourgeois-capitalist nation whose bourgeois class also aimed at imperialist expansion. In fact, as we have already explained and concluded in other articles and in the other parts of DWM, by the time so-called “Sino-Soviet split” came out, China could not be qualified a socialist country. China could never be qualified as such for the simple reason that it had never had anything to do with socialism, neither with proletarian dictatorship, its political-socio-economic-ideological material basis, relations of production, class structures and superstructures were never socialist. Chinese so-called 1949 “revolution” was nothing more than a mere bourgeois-democratic revolution which had nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism. The 1949 Chinese revolution had in fact a reactionary and even anti-socialist character and allowed the maintenance of capitalist and bourgeois elements not only at the main branches of the economy, but also their maintenance in the main branches of the country’s government, thus turning impossible the very existence of the proletarian dictatorship and installing the dictatorship of the Chinese national “patriotic” bourgeois class that would defeat its bourgeois compradore rival and prepare its path towards China’s transformation into an imperialist superpower. As comrade Enver and other Albanian Marxists-Leninists would affirm:

“Mao Tsetung was not a Marxist-Leninist, but a progressive bourgeois revolutionary, more progressive than Liu Shao-chi, but still a centrist revolutionary, who posed as a communist and stood at the head of the Communist Party. Within China, in the party, among the people, and abroad, he had the reputation of a great Marxist-Leninist who fought for the construction of socialism. But his views were not Marxist-Leninist, he did not follow the theory of Marx and Lenin, was a continuer of the work of Sun Yat-sen, but in more advanced positions, and dressed up his views, so to say, with some leftist revolutionary formulas, some Marxist-Leninist theses and slogans. Mao Tsetung posed as a Marxist- Leninist dialectician, but he was not so. »

« “Mao Tsetung thought” is not Marxism- Leninism and that Mao Tsetung was not a Marxist-Leninist. He did not betray himself, as you might say. We say that Mao is a renegade, is an anti-Marxist, and this is a fact. We say this because he tried to disguise himself with Marxism- Leninism, but in fact he was never a Marxist. In general, we can say that in some directions the revolution in China had certain features of a tendency to develop on the socialist road, but the measures taken stopped halfway, or were annulled, as they are being annulled at present, and the masks will be dropped one after the other. All these things must be understood by

the Chinese people, and they must be understood outside China, too, because, unfortunately, the whole development of that country, the national liberation war of the Chinese people, the establishment of the progressive bourgeois people's democratic state, has gone down in history as a proletarian revolution (...)." (Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China*, Volume II, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

"Life shows that Mao Zedong was indeed in favor of the maintenance and strengthening of the Chinese bourgeoisie, so China could become an imperialist superpower. The restitution of the means of production, wealth, profits and surplus value to the business men and to the industrials which created the conditions to the perpetuation of the oppression and exploitation of the working class was not a fortuity measure; quite on the contrary, it was the expression of the opportunist stands of Mao Zedong. Indeed, as an anti-proletarian theory and practice, the "Mao Zedong thought" has also become a strong supporter of capitalism at an international scale." (Naun Guxho, *La Pensée MaoTseToung, theorie et pratique antiproletariennes*, 1979, translated from the French language)

And relatively to Soviet Union, beginning with the murder of comrade Stalin until the late 50's, it had ceased from being a socialist country, it had ceased from being the proletarian homeland of comrades Lenin and Stalin, the world's main revolutionary center the basis and lever of the socialist world revolution. By that time, the leadership of the « Communist » Party of the Soviet Union was submerged in Khrushchevist revisionist garbage and had rejected Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism and the construction of authentic socialism. The actual restoration of capitalism was hidden behind the guise of "building communism", which is a particular expression of modern revisionism in the Soviet Union. True, among workers it still enjoyed from the prestige inherited from comrades Lenin's and Stalin's times, from the times when it was still the center of world socialist revolution. But even this would change when it became more and more evident that Soviet Union had been transformed into a social-fascist superpower embracing a policy of belligerent social-imperialism. As comrade Enver accurately stated:

"Having seized state power in the Soviet Union, the Khrushchevites set themselves as their main objective the destruction of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the restoration of capitalism and the transformation of the Soviet Union into an imperialist superpower. (...).The Soviet Union, which had turned into a revisionist country, into a social-imperialist state, built up its own strategy and tactics.

The Khrushchevites worked out such a policy as to enable them to disguise all their activity with Leninist phraseology. They elaborated their revisionist ideology in such a way as to palm it off upon the proletariat and the peoples as the «Marxism-Leninism of the new period», so they could tell the communists, inside and outside the country, that «the revolution was continuing in the Soviet Union in the new political, ideological and economic conditions of world development », and not only that this revolution was continuing there, but that this country was allegedly going over to the stage of the construction of a classless communist society, where the party and the state were withering away. (...) With their advent to power the

Khrushchevites also prepared the platform of their foreign policy. Just like US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism too, based its foreign policy on expansion and hegemonism by means of the armaments race, pressure and blackmail, and military, economic and ideological aggression. The aim of this policy was the establishment of social-imperialist domination over the whole world. In the Comecon countries, the Soviet Union is implementing a typically neo-colonialist policy. The economies of these countries have been transformed into appendages of the Soviet economy.

The Warsaw Treaty serves the Soviet Union to keep these countries under its yoke, enabling it to station there large military forces, which are no different from occupation armies. The Warsaw Treaty is an aggressive military pact which serves the policy of pressure, blackmail and armed intervention of Soviet social-imperialism. The revisionist-imperialist «theories» on «the socialist community», «the socialist division of labor», «limited sovereignty», «socialist economic integration», etc., also serve this neo-colonialist policy. But Soviet social-imperialism is not satisfied with the domination it exercises over its satellite states. Like the other imperialist states, the Soviet Union is now fighting for new markets, for spheres of influence, to invest its capital in various countries, to monopolize sources of raw materials, to extend its neo-colonialism in Africa, Asia, Latin America and elsewhere. Soviet social-imperialism has a whole strategic plan which includes a series of economic, political, ideological and military activities for the purpose of extending its expansion and hegemonism. At the same time the Soviet revisionists are working to undermine the peoples' revolutions and the liberation wars by precisely the same means and methods as those employed by the US imperialists. Usually, the social-imperialists operate through their tools, the revisionist parties, but, according to the occasion and circumstances, they also try to corrupt and bribe the ruling cliques in the undeveloped countries, offer enslaving economic «aid» in order to get a foothold in these countries, stir up armed conflicts among the different cliques, siding with one or the other, organize plots and putsches to bring pro-Soviet regimes to power, and even resort to direct military intervention, as they did, together with the Cubans, in Angola, Ethiopia, and elsewhere. The Soviet social-imperialists carry out their intervention, their hegemonic, neo-colonialist actions under the disguise of aid to, and support for, the revolutionary forces, the revolution and the construction of socialism. In reality they help the counter-revolution. The revisionist Soviet Union tries to open the way to realizing its expansionist, neo-colonialist plans, by presenting itself as a country which is pursuing a Leninist and internationalist policy, as an ally, friend and defender of the new national states, the undeveloped countries, etc.

The Soviet revisionists preach that, by linking up with the Soviet Union and the so-called socialist community, which they proclaim as the «main motive force of world development today», these countries can advance successfully on the road of freedom and independence, even of socialism. This is why they have also concocted the theories of the «non-capitalist road of development», countries of «socialist orientation», etc. Despite what they pretend, the strategy of the Soviet social-imperialists has nothing in common with socialism and Leninism. It is the strategy

of a predatory imperialist state which wants to extend its hegemony and domination to all countries on all continents.” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

And indeed, as we shall prove, revisionist Soviet Union was nothing more than a new bourgeois-capitalist country aiming at world social-imperialist superpower status and domination, just like revisionist and later social-imperialist China.

“The socialist social formation is destroyed only when the productive forces and the relations of production are caught in a no longer detachable conflict, that is, after the productive forces have been so far destroyed that they are no longer sufficient for the maintenance of socialism against the capitalist world. And the old, lower, capitalist relations of production occur then in the place of the higher, socialist production relations, when their material conditions of existence have matured in the womb of the socialist society itself. (...)

The basic economical law of the restoration of capitalism is the dialectical law of motion of the transformation from the socialist back into the capitalist mode of production, especially the transformation of the socialist relations of production into capitalist relations of production by means of the power of the state-monopoly of the new bourgeoisie which arose hiddenly in the midst of the socialist society.

On a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of the socialist society get into conflict with the emanating state-capitalist relations of production, under which they can not further develop. The state-capitalist relations of production become fetters by which the productive forces can not further develop. The stages of transition into capitalist relations of production affect the stages of deceleration and retardation of the further development of the productive forces. With it, they lack space for expansion that leads to disaccordances between the unity and harmony of productive forces and relations of production within the socialist system of production. From this follows occurrence of crises of production, difficulties of the fulfillment of the 5-Year-plan, stunted and destroyed productive forces, supply shortfalls, unemployment, degeneration of production facilities, etc. and finally the successive collapse of the whole economical system of the socialist society. The transition or change from accordance to disaccordance of the socialist relations of production with the social character of the productive forces – this is typical for a socialist economical system which is successively restored by capitalism.” (Wolfgang Eggers, *1956-2006 – 50 years of communism in struggle against modern revisionism, The political economy of modern revisionism*, published by the Comintern (SH) in 2006, translated from German language)

Therefore our definition of the political economy of modern revisionism is as follows:

The political economy of modern revisionism is the theoretical basis of the abolition of the socialist accordance of productive forces and relations of production – hidden behind the cloak of the political economy of Marxism-Leninism.

Anyway, the plans of the Soviet revisionists to the country's transformation from a socialist nation into a social-fascist, revisionist and social-imperialist state began more or less hiddenly even before the death of comrade Stalin in 1953. Just after the infamous XX Congress of the "Communist" Party of the Soviet Union ("C"PSU), when revisionism was officially proclaimed, large numbers of militants of base organizations within the "C"PSU demanded that the party's Central Committee made a truly Marxist-Leninist evaluation of comrade Stalin's work and activities. In face of this, the revisionist leadership was forced to resort to all kinds of social-fascist measures, including persecution against various members of the Party and forced dissolution of a series of Party organizations who acted very resolutely in defense of comrade Stalin.

This alone is proof of the bourgeois-capitalist character that the Soviet state had embraced. In a bourgeois state, the only real control is that exercised by the governing bodies at the service of exploitative and oppressive classes over the governed exploited and oppressed classes. Under capitalism, the mechanisms of popular control are annihilated by the economic domination and pressure of the bourgeoisie. In contrast, in a socialist state, popular control is not an utopia or a dream but a reality inseparable from the existence of socialism. This control is:

"(...) the test from below, when the masses, when those who are led, test the leaders, draw attention to their mistakes and indicate the way in which these mistakes may be rectified. This sort of testing is one of the most effective methods of testing people." (http://ciml.250x.com/archive/stalin/english/stalinworks_14.pdf, Report and Speech in Reply to Debate at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU, 1937, in Stalin, *Works*, Volume 14, 1978, pp. 282, edition in English)

Concerning this, comrades Lenin and Stalin had emphasized that one of the great problems consists in the following: administrative agencies of the state and the economy are fertile ground to bureaucrat and technocrat elements retaining remnants of the bourgeois mentality and who therefore want to occupy those places where the whole economic and political power is concentrated. This is a constant danger that affects not only those who are still attached to bourgeois ideology, but is also likely to affect workers assigned to their control.

Comrade Stalin also warned at the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Soviet Union (Bolshevist) – [CPSU (B)] in 1937 that "while combating bureaucracy," some workers themselves were "contaminated by the bureaucracy" and that these phenomena would persist "as long as the state exists." The enlargement and the quantitative and qualitative improvement of workers' control over the administrative apparatus are the only guarantees of safeguarding and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Stalinist purges so much demonized by capitalists and revisionists of all kinds were clearly a valuable instrument of maintenance of an authentic proletarian dictatorship, of genuine socialist construction. They were aimed precisely at fighting neo-bourgeois elements seeking to evade popular control. This is confirmed even by explicitly anti-communist historians:

"The physical evidence surrounding the 'Ejovshchina' (the 'Great Purge') must be redefined. It was not the result of a petrified bureaucracy who eliminated dissidents and destroyed the old revolutionaries. In fact, the purges were just the opposite. It is not incompatible with available materials to argue that the purges were a radical reaction, (...), against the bureaucracy. Officials were destroyed from above and from below (...)." (J. Arch Getty, *Origins of the Great Purges*, Cambridge University Press, 1985, p. 206, edition in English)

The prompt removal of this proletarian control exercised over the bureaucratic members eager to degenerate into bourgeois-capitalist elements after Khrushchev's coup is evidence of the transformation of Soviet Union into a revisionist and social-imperialist country.

From the moment that the referred control exercised from below disappears, the bureaucratized elements held economic and political power, turning into a new bourgeois class. After the middle 50's, and already at the time the Sino-Soviet conflict came out, economic and social facts irrefutably corroborate the bourgeois-capitalist nature of the revisionist, social-fascist and social-imperialist Soviet Union.

Indeed, in revisionist USSR, the "salary" and the material benefits of representatives of the "bureaucratic power" were considerable and disgusted the working people, who noted that the bureaucrat servants of the state were becoming the masters of that same state. That bureaucracy used the social demagogy of the "well-being" of Soviet workers in order to destroy all forms of socialist life and of socialist consciousness. Since the late 50's, Soviet state of proletarian dictatorship had been transformed into a state serving the interests of the ruling exploitative new bourgeois class. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that in a society divided into antagonistic classes - and, as has been shown, Soviet society had become such a society - the state cannot be anything else than the instrument of dominant social class, and any statement affirming that represents the interests of "the whole people" is simple anti-socialist demagogy.

There are some "comrades" who still affirm that the process of restoration of capitalism in the USSR took place between 1956-1991, during a period of more than 30 years. In truth, by the time the "Sino-Soviet split" was in its hey day in the early 60's, the Soviet Union was *already* an essentially bourgeois-capitalist country where socialism had ceased to exist. In fact, the process of capitalist restoration in Soviet Union was particularly rapid, it was much quicker than many think, as it is proved by the social-imperialist actions of the Soviet revisionists externally and their social-fascist actions internally.

True, profit was officially proclaimed as a regulator factor of production only in 1965, a fact which in itself is sufficient to characterize the nature of the USSR at that time. However, profit had been regulating and dominating Soviet economy since much earlier, namely since the late 1950s. The transformation of the means of production into goods and commodities was formalized by the Resolution No. 1150 of the Council of Ministers

of the USSR, on 22 September, 1957, in which it was determined that enterprises should now operate having profit as basis.

And by the same time, the socialist property had been annihilated in the industrial sector in 1957 in favor of state monopolist capitalist property and system which only benefited a handful of bureaucrats, technocrats and bourgeois elements that were finally freed from proletarian and working class control. A similar process occurred also with Soviet agriculture by that epoch, when at the Soviet countryside, the means of production and commodities were already circulating freely and all major traits of economic planning were withering away.

So, by the time the “Sino-Soviet split” came out, both Maoist China and Khrushchevist Soviet Union were bourgeois-capitalist countries following a social-imperialist and neo-colonialist path – the first of them having always been one while the second had been transformed into it after a period of genuine socialism and proletarian dictatorship. Contrary to what happened with the Chinese revisionists, the Albanian Marxists-Leninists can boast of the huge merit of criticizing the Soviet revisionist betrayal never detaching their political-ideological features from their respective economic and social consequences and objectives.

Basing themselves on their invincible proletarian ideology, Albanian Marxists-Leninists led by comrade Enver Hoxha were always capable of foreseeing and anticipating revisionist maneuvers and steps. This was quite obvious in the case of the Soviet revisionists: in October, 1964, even before the official proclamation of the Kosygin "economic reform", in his “Open Letter to the members of the Communist Party of Soviet Union”, Enver Hoxha not only fiercely and implacably denounced revisionist theories, but also never lost an opportunity of affirming that through its so-called "economic reforms", Khrushchev's group had restored capitalism: Khrushchevists had rejected "the socialist principle of remuneration according to work", and they had “undermined the centrally planned economy”. Moreover, comrade Enver also noted that they were trying to encourage the principle of the capitalist pursuit of profit, of capitalist free competition and were fostering the ruin of the collective property which was parceled out, like occurred with stations machinery and with tractors.

Later, in his many brilliant Works (*With Stalin*, among many others), Enver Hoxha, the 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism, made a genial synthesis of the multifaceted activity of comrade Stalin and of the herculean socio-economic transformations that were accomplished during the period of his proletarian leadership. In order to determine if when the “Sino-Soviet split” arose, Soviet Union was still a socialist country or if it had already been turned into a bourgeois-revisionist one where capitalism had been restored, it is important not to rely exclusively on the most known official speeches and proclamations. The Soviet revisionists did not wait for 1956 to start making their plans for their "reforms", and they also did not wait for 1965 to begin with capitalist restoration and social-imperialist ascension in Soviet Union.

In truth, very soon after comrade Stalin's murder by the revisionists, the breakdown of the patterns of reproduction of the social product proves this conclusively. What changed in the revisionist USSR consisted in that the development of productive forces towards socialism and communism was stopped, that methods of management of state monopoly property changed: the restoration of wage slavery and of market production would necessarily lead to the creation of serious disproportions in social production and which should also lead to contradictions between the revisionist-bourgeois supporters of a "rigid" management and those of a more "soft" management of bourgeois-capitalist-revisionist property, as happens in any modern bourgeois state. In what concerns the mentioned property, it lost its socialist nature and remained a kind of capitalist property which does not stop from being so whether it is openly privatized or if its character is hidden behind state monopolist "public" cloaks, thus originating the same evils as in any other bourgeois-capitalist society. As comrade Enver declared:

"The Soviet Union's return to capitalism could not fail to have its own special features, and the capitalist order there could not fail to assume special forms. These special features and forms are determined by the fact that capitalism in that country was re-established as a result of the overthrow of socialism, as a result of a retrogressive process, unlike the capitalism of the classical type which follows the overthrow of the feudal order, as a progressive process." (Enver Hoxha, *Report to the VIII Congress of the PLA*, 1981, edition in English)

"As very lengthy experience has already proved, state capitalism is supported and developed by the bourgeoisie, not to create the foundations of socialist society, (...), but to strengthen the foundations of capitalist society, of its bourgeois state, in order to exploit and oppress the working people more. Those who run the «public sector» are not the representatives of the workers, but the men of big capital, those who have the reins of the whole economy and the state in their hands. The social position of the worker in the enterprises of the «public sector» is no different from that of the worker in the private sector; his relationship to the means of production, to the economic management of the enterprise, the policy of investments, pay, etc., is the same. The bourgeois state, i.e., the bourgeoisie, appropriates the profit of these enterprises." (Enver Hoxha, *Eurocommunism is Anti-communism*, Tirana, 1980, edition in English)

For example, contrary to what Soviet revisionists might state, unemployment was a common phenomenon in revisionist Soviet Union, and a blatant proof of its bourgeois-capitalist nature, as there can never be unemployment under socialism (as was the case in Bolshevik Soviet Union of comrades Lenin and Stalin and in socialist Albania of comrade Enver Hoxha).

From the second half of the 1970s on, it became more and more evident that the weakening of the Soviet social-imperialism showed beyond any doubts it were not the bourgeois-revisionist states who ran the economy, but the fluctuations of the global economy controlled by the multinational corporations owned by world bourgeois class that dictated their orders to those bourgeois-revisionist states.

Those “comrades” who affirm that “Sino-Soviet split” began when Soviet Union was still a socialist country because the destruction of the socialist economic base and of socialist relations of production and productive forces was initiated only with the "economic reforms" of 1965-1967 have one of two problems: blindness or anti-communist bad will. They refute Stalinist theories regarding the Plans for the construction of communism and consequently, they reject the positions of comrade Stalin himself, no matter if they call themselves “Stalinists”.

Already in the early 60’s, a bourgeois anti-communist journalist noticed openly the “new signs of bourgeois life in the USSR” of which “many examples can be noted”. He even affirmed that:

“The USSR has changed. And the word “changed” has a double sense. I want to say that it has changed a lot, and as the zealous pro-Western that I am, I firmly believe that it has changed in the good sense, that it has changed positively.” (Léon Zitronne, *L’URSS a bien changé. Maintenant on peut y rire...*, Editons mondiales, Paris, 1963, p. 310, translated from French language)

This alone should end with any doubts about the bourgeois-capitalist character of the USSR since late 1950’s and early 1960’s.

Enver Hoxha was entirely right when in his “Report to the VI Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania - PLA” he valiantly denounced "the new Soviet bourgeoisie composed of bureaucrats and technocrats" who had "taken the reins of the state and the economy" to "ensure important privileges and incomes to themselves". He was totally correct when he declared that this state monopolist bourgeoisie had "replaced the remuneration according to work by a system of income distribution that allowed its members to appropriate the fruits of toil and pain of the working masses, to ensure, by the most diverse methods, incomes dozens of times higher than those of workers and peasants." Finally, he also was absolutely right to expose the "socializing" hoaxes the Soviet revisionists liked to spread to mislead proletarians, workers and exploited and oppressed classes of the world and therefore do irreparable harm to the world communist revolutionary movement:

“The confusion is made even worse because the Khrushchevite revisionists try to peddle the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and elsewhere as socialism. This demagoguery misleads many honest people, who, while they rightly criticize many negative phenomena in the life of the Soviet Union and other revisionist countries, identify the order there with socialism and attribute the consequences of the restoration of capitalism to socialism.” (Enver Hoxha, *Report to the VI Congress of the PLA*, 1971, edition in English)

In 1981, in his “Report to the VIII Congress of the PLA”, Enver Hoxha made one more of his materialist analysis, this time about the contradictions within Soviet bourgeois-capitalist-revisionist-imperialist, wage slavagist, social-fascist, neo-colonialist and anti-communist society that clearly displayed a bleak outlook for Soviet revisionists and their

country's vassals. Speaking of the revisionist countries Enver Hoxha correctly declared that:

"In these countries capitalism has been re-established in various forms, and a class of new exploiters is emerging and growing strong. If the country which goes through this regressive process is big in territory, population, or economic potential, the state of this country turns social-imperialist, and if, on the contrary, the country is small, its state becomes a satellite of world capitalism, dominated by foreign capital and neo-colonialism, which exploit the wealth of this country and the toil of its people."
(Enver Hoxha, *Proletarian Democracy is Genuine Democracy*, 1978, edition in English)

In this simple sentence, comrade Enver fulfilled the goal of systematizing and enunciating a general law that is valid to all revisionist and social-fascist countries without exception. And this general law put forward by comrade Enver is not in the least invalidated by the subsequent dismemberment of the Soviet social-imperialism under Western imperialism, because the balance and the equilibrium of inter-imperialist forces do not stand still and there are imperialist countries which grow faster than others. This was indeed the case with the rivalry and with inter-imperialist contradiction between imperialist USA and social-imperialist Soviet Union.

Another irrefutable proof of the non-socialist nature of the Soviet Union at the time when "Sino-Soviet split" began is the huge increasing of its external trade. In fact, one of the economic signs that can indicate if a country was socialist or not during the first stage of socialism "in a single country" is the volume of external/foreign trade – this volume is substantially smaller in socialist countries than in bourgeois-capitalist-revisionist-imperialist countries. For example, during the times of comrade Stalin, the state budget assigned to external/foreign trade of the Bolshevik Soviet Union represented less than 0,4 % (!) of the total state budget of the country of the year 1950. And in comrade Enver's socialist Albania similar numbers were also accomplished. These kinds of figures could only be presented by authentically socialist countries. In fact, it is impossible to conceive even in mere theoretical terms that in a capitalist-bourgeois country the volume of the foreign/external trade could represent such a tiny share of the entire social economic income. And this because the inherent tendency of capitalism to the limitless enlargement of production inevitably enters in contradiction and shocks with the exploitation of wage slaves, and thus originates massive amounts of excessive "surplus" commodities that must be flown away in the external market.

Indeed, the values of external/foreign trade must diminish in the same measure that socialist construction develops. This was what happened in Bolshevik Soviet Union of comrades Lenin and Stalin and in socialist Albania of comrade Enver. This is caused not by any plans of autarchy, but by a successful application of the principle of "relying on one's own forces". This was absolutely necessary, even because due to capitalist-imperialist encirclement, to diminish reliance on capitalist-imperialist world was of extreme importance to the survival of socialism. Indeed, the successful application of this principle is also a proof that a certain country is authentically constructing socialism. In the economic sphere, this principle meets the needs of the expanded reproduction

accelerated through social wealth, but this reproduction can never be accomplished if wage slavery prevails, whether on behalf of a national indigenous bourgeoisie or of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

Wherever the bourgeoisie is in control, work is not distributed according to social utility and profitability of the whole economy whole, but in accord with the rate of maximum profit that can be made through the immediate development of a particular sector of the economy. Of course, today we are no longer on the first stage of socialism. However, when “Sino-Soviet split” came out, we were indeed in the first stage of “socialism in a single country”, and so this indicator was still valid as one more proof of the bourgeois-capitalist nature of the Soviet Union. Thus, we present a table displaying the evolution of the volume of external/foreign trade of Soviet Union since:

Volume of foreign trade of the USSR (in billions of dollars):
1955 – 6,4 1960 – 11,2 1965 – 16,2 1970 – 24,5 1975 – 70,2 1980 – 145,0 1985 – 170,4 1990 – 224, 8

In first place, these figures show that during the period 1955-1990, the volume of Soviet external/foreign trade has increased by more than 350%! National income increased much less rapidly: it is sufficient to note that during the period 1965-1980, it had increased by around just 2%. If we compare this to the situation in 1954, just after comrade Stalin’s death, we note that Soviet national income had increased 15 times compared to its 1913 level, despite the destructions, shortcomings and difficulties imposed by two imperialist world wars. During the times of socialist construction in Soviet Union, foreign trade was developed in parallel and less than or in proportions similar to those of national income. However, after capitalist restoration, it grew at much higher rates in the second half 1950s and even faster from 1973 on, like occurred with all its imperialist competitors. This is to what the so-called “market socialism” and “socialism with an human face” inevitably leads! To a bourgeois-capitalist economy entirely integrated in the merciless claws of world imperialism! And the non-socialist nature that Soviet Union already had in the late 50’s, when “Sino-Soviet split” began, only intensified in subsequent decades. If until the early 1970s, the Soviet social-imperialist economy was still in an upward phase, it began in the second half of the 1970’s in a period of decline relatively to its American competitor. At its peak, in the early 1970s, the volume of foreign trade of the social-imperialist USSR amounted to 33% of that of the USA. But in 1980, it did not represent more than 30% of this and in 1990 not more than 25% of this. Until the early 1970s, the Soviet revisionists still managed to strengthen their market positions in their neo-colonial satellites, but a few years later, their relative share in the trade to these countries fell by almost a third, while their trade dependency on their own imperialist competitors was growing more and more, thus leading to the intensification of the exploitation of the neo-colonial countries of the Comecon by the Soviet social-imperialists, aggravating economic and social crisis. In revisionist USSR, the situation was so serious that:

"The Soviet Union is seeking to export products to pay for its imports." (Pierre George, *L'économie de l'URSS*, Presses universitaires de France, Paris, 1981, p. 115, translated from French language)

In the early 1980s, the situation had become unsustainable for Soviet social-imperialism and to the countries included in its sphere of influence: the first became dependent on its own imperialist rivals, just like also occurred with its neo-colonial satellite countries. All were heavily indebted to Western imperialist countries and were severely accountable to the IMF and to the World Bank. And for instance, in Vietnam, a pro-Soviet neo-colony, the policy of "reform or die" was implemented by the revisionist bourgeoisie who supposedly "invented" a "market economy of socialist orientation"... This process of massive indebtedness was noted by the Albanian communists who noticed that:

“The provision of such credits ensures the bourgeoisie markets for the sale of goods, the capitalists make colossal profits from the high interest rates charged, while the debtors are bound hand and foot to the creditors and the capitalist firms. (...) Apart from the extraction of capitalist profits, these credits, this «aid» and loans also have political objectives. The states which accord the credits aim to support and consolidate the political and economic power of particular cliques, which defend the economic, political and military interests of the creditor country. As the agreements on such credits are concluded between governments, they make the economic and political dependence of the debtor on the creditor even greater. The ruling cliques of the so-called socialist countries, like the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland, etc., and now China, too, allow foreign capital to flow into their countries, because this capital serves the ruling cliques, while it is a heavy burden on the peoples. The Comecon countries are up to their necks in debt.” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

In 1981, Albanian Marxists-Leninists also noted that the volume of the debt contracted by the revisionist countries, including by those of the Soviet social-imperialist camp, towards the Western imperialist countries amounted to more than \$80 billion (!!):

"The situation is so critical that some countries, including Poland and Romania are no longer able to pay the interests on their loans and they asked the international bourgeoisie to grant them new loans, defer payment deadlines and not to declare them "insolvent." (PLA, *La dégénérescence du Comecon en une organisation capitaliste, Etudes politiques et sociales*, translated from French language)

In the meantime, the situation in the Soviet Union went from bad to worse, as it had to sell its gold, platinum and diamonds on the world market in order to face the repeated requests by the international monopolist bourgeois class for the repayment of loans and payment of interest rates.

“By granting prohibitive loans to revisionist and social-fascist countries, the international bourgeoisie ensures economic gains and considerable political. It thus finds new markets, so popular in time crisis, sells its merchandise inventory and increases its capital. If, in 1979, the revisionist Western countries have paid to creditors about 5 billion dollars in interest, in 1980 this amount reached \$ 7 billion

and now it is about 8.5 billion.” (PLA, *La dégénérescence du Comecon en une organisation capitaliste, Etudes politiques et sociales*, translated from French language)

In this context, it was inevitable under the conditions of commodity production that all industries whose productivity lagged behind their competitors eventually collapse. Hence, the disintegration of the Soviet bloc and the deindustrialization of its neo-colonial satellites was decided when the revisionists allowed the free flow of foreign capital from the Western imperialists.

So, the false so-called “Sino-Soviet split” was not in any way a “polemic between two communist countries”. Indeed, by the time it arose, both Chinese revisionist bourgeoisie and Soviet revisionist bourgeoisie had plans of becoming imperialist superpowers that would exploit and oppress the world peoples even more this time under “socialist” and even “Leninist” masks and slogans (“socialists” in words, imperialists in deeds).

In fact, it is true that the bourgeois anti-socialist revolution in the USSR took place in the 1950s, but the immense industrial and technical potential of such a huge country with a powerful heavy industry of production of means of production inherited from the socialist period and the transformation of these sectors into a sector under the control of the monopolist capitalist state bourgeoisie led to turning of the USSR (Soviet Union) into a bourgeois-capitalist, social-fascist, revisionist, reactionary, wage slavagist, neo-colonialist and anti-communist imperialist superpower of international relevance, which would impose and expand its neo-colonialist so-called “areas of influence” in search of exclusively dominating world’s cheap labor, workforce, markets and resources, without hesitating to resort to wars, fascist coups, etc. in order to accomplish its ultimate purpose: profit maximization (with all this being exactly what also happens with any other kind of imperialism). Soviet social-imperialists were just that, imperialists, no matter the falsely “internationalist” phraseology which they used to justify their imperialist actions, and the utilization of “socialist” labels to qualify the comprador bourgeois cliques who were their lackeys.

Such was the case with their invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, where despite their high-sounding phrases about the “defense of socialism”, social-imperialists were struggling to hide the real content of Czechoslovak events: the simple inter-imperialist rivalries through the repression of the pro-Western wing and the wing of the country’s pro-Western bourgeoisie compradore. Relations within the “socialist community” under the dominance of revisionist Soviet Union had nothing in common with relations between genuinely socialist countries: the “common policy” was no longer determined by a collective body as the former glorious Comintern of Lenin and Stalin, but was instead determined by Soviet revisionist and social-imperialist clique which imposed its views during bilateral meetings. Comrade Enver confirmed all this in his works, as it is displayed by his quotations above. He even affirmed that:

“The total breakdown of the U. R.S.S. with the whole tradition of solidarity was cruelly felt in a country where the memory of the selfless support received during Stalin’s times was still alive. The more the loyalty to an old friendship with the

people of the U. R.S.S. is intense, moving and standing, more the condemnation of Moscow's current policy is strong and profound.” (PLA, *Conférence nationale sur l'oeuvre immortelle du camarade Enver Hoxha*, Edition numérique, p. 34, translated from French language)

Albanian communists noted that, contrary to what they proclaim, Soviet social-imperialist "helpers" do not tend to favor the independent development of the national economies of the countries, their “help” and do not guarantee their economic and political independence, but intended to submit the countries that accepts their neo-colonialist slavery and make it lose its political and economic independence through preventing them from having heavy industry of means of production and through transforming them into mere dependent neo-colonial appendixes of their own imperialist economy. The heavy industry of production of means of production is the only one which ensures independence and the socio-economic basis for socialism. Comrade Stalin affirmed that:

“If we (...) we should have to cease giving primacy to the production of means of production in favor of the production of articles of consumption. And what would be the effect of ceasing to give primacy to the production of the means of production? The effect would be to destroy the possibility of the continuous expansion of our national economy, because the national economy cannot be continuously expanded without giving primacy to the production of means of production.” (Stalin, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, 1952, edition in English)

Albanian Marxists-Leninists-Stalinists also noticed, based on their own experience, how the imperialists and revisionists, following in the footsteps the Trotskyists, loved to interpret the principle of support on its own strengths as a "shift to the positions of narrow nationalism". For Albanian Marxist-Leninists, the principle of supporting its own force is of a "universal" and "can be applied in all branches and sectors of life", it was indeed one of the most acute manifestations of the class struggle on the international level during the first stage of socialism “in a single country”, and the fundamental principle guiding the struggle to build socialism in a hostile international environment, in the context of the imperialist-revisionist-capitalist encirclement.

But when Soviet social-imperialism failed to dislodge the positions of its main imperialist competitor which relied on a massive domestic and external economic potential in the commercial sector such as in investment, Soviet social-imperialism began to experiment decline since the mid-1970's, which worsened at the same time of the intensification of the massive influx of capital in dependent countries included in the sphere of influence of U.S. imperialism (South and Central America, Southeastern Asia), whose products using cheaper labor competed successfully with those produced by the pro-Soviet neo-colonial satellites of the Comecon. It was in this catastrophic economic situation that revisionist leaders were driven to consider the full opening of the economy of the revisionist USSR and of its satellites towards the world market in the commercial field, as in that of investment, hoping to attract foreign investment. But they had “forgot” to foreseen the

results of the devastating action of the law of value's so-called "invisible hand". And so, the only thing they achieved was the quickest weakening of Soviet social-imperialist, thus turned the country into a semi-colony, a situation which caused the disintegration of Soviet social-imperialism in the late 1980's and early 90's, in a process whose further causes and developments do not belong to the scope of this article.

We will only note that:

"Currently [in 1988], we talk openly in the Soviet Union of the development of the private sector, currently, creating joint ventures with foreign capital is practiced freely in trade transactions with the exterior." (PLA, *Etudes politiques et sociales*, p. 614, translated from French language)

This could never be the situation in a country building true socialism. For example, in comrade Enver's socialist Albania, the Constitution clearly defined that:

"The granting of concessions to, and the creation of, foreign economic and financial companies and other institutions or ones formed jointly with bourgeois and revisionist capitalist monopolies and states, as well as obtaining credits from them, are prohibited in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania." (*Article 28 of the Constitution of People's Socialist Republic of Albania*, December of 1976, edition in English)

Moreover, in revisionist USSR during the period 1967-1987, annual inflation of retail prices and wholesale was greater than 5%. The cost of the life increased much faster than wages progressed, as with any country bourgeois. On 15 April, 1987, we could read in the *Literatournia Gazeta* about the levels of inflation that:

"Life is becoming more and more expensive. Everyone knows and talks constantly. Only the Central Statistics Department does not know, she is supposed to know everything. (...) The price recently increased without common measurement with wage increases." (*Literatournia Gazeta*, 15 April, 1987, translated from French language)

The excessive swelling of the military-industrial complex at the expense of development of productive industries in the era of "peaceful coexistence" was the result of the immutable economic necessity of monopoly capitalist state and its tendency to want to accumulate through the development of unproductive industries (arms) instead of improving the condition of workers.

Therefore, those who affirm that Soviet's fake "anti-Maoism" came from a supposedly "authentically socialist country" and therefore "must be correct" are denying the capitalist-imperialist character of the revisionist USSR and the process of capitalist restoration and social-imperialist neo-colonialist expansion that occurred with it for more than 30 years.

With this very brief analysis of the bourgeois-capitalist-imperialist nature of the revisionist Soviet Union since the 1950's and its intensification in the following decades, we, Stalinists-Hoxhaists, aim at providing our arguments about the ideological features of Soviet false "anti-Maoism" that will be presented right now with a solid basis founded on a materialist socio-economic analysis of the Soviet Union when that kind of "anti-Maoism" came out. However, the Comintern (SH) has already published all the significant documents of Hoxhaism concerning the scientific analysis of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and so we don't need to go further on this issue. Our basic, comprehensive analysis of the political economy of revisionism - based upon the documents of comrade Enver Hoxha and the PLA can be studied here: "The political economy of revisionism" - chapter of ["50 Years struggle against revisionism"](#) (in German language: *Die politische Ökonomie des modernen Revisionismus*).

In this manner, and as we had already referred, it is impossible that the "Sino-Soviet split" and the phony Soviet "anti-Maoism" that was originated by it could ever had any kind of truly ideological divergences as their reason of being. They could never be so because both China and Soviet Union had bourgeois-capitalist-revisionist political-socio-economic systems engaged in imperialist expansion when the "Sino-Soviet split" arose in the late 50's. As such, if their structure was non-socialist, it is crystal clear that their ideological superstructure could never be socialist.

It is important to always remember this, in order to start the next stage of our study with the irrefutable notion that the "Sino-Soviet split", and namely the so-called "anti-Maoist" positions of the Soviet revisionists, could have never had anything to do with Marxism-Leninism, with socialism or with communism. They were revisionists who hold control over a country whose socio-economic base had been turned into a bourgeois-capitalist-imperialist one, and thus their ideological "disputes" and "anti-Maoist" arguments could only have exactly the same purpose of Maoism itself: to save world bourgeoisie and world capitalism-imperialism from socialist revolution, from proletarian dictatorship, from socialism and communism.

The Soviet revisionists spread many illusions about the bourgeois-capitalist-imperialist character of the countries of their neo-colonial sphere of influence, they hide their own mechanisms of capitalist restoration capitalism together with the objective causes of the weakening and of the collapse of the Soviet social-imperialism with the purpose of still nowadays presenting social-fascist Soviet Union as having been "a socialist country", and therefore its ideological arguments and manifestations must be also "socialist" and even "Marxist-Leninist" – including their fake "anti-Maoism", that is depicted as being the only correct one, as being an alleged "struggle to defend Marxism-Leninism against deviations", etc.

The true reason behind Soviet revisionists' false "anti-Maoism" was not simply the necessity of discrediting a rival whose imperialist ambitions represented a danger to their dominance over the revisionist world. Rather over the entire world - especially over the revolutionary, socialist world – led by socialist Albania. The true reason was this: splitting and liquidating the communist world movement, isolation of socialist Albania

and transforming Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism into a bourgeois ideology – namely in cooperation with the Chinese revisionists, especially by means of initiating the so-called “Sino-Soviet Split”.

- The tactics of “anti-Maoism” of the Soviet revisionists was indispensable for hiding their social-fascism inwards and social-imperialism outwards.
- And the tactics of the Chinese revisionists against the Soviet-revisionists was indispensable for hiding as well their social-fascism inwards and their social-imperialism outwards.

Both revisionist camps used the opponent camp first, as a shield to protect their own revisionism and secondly to dominate the communist world movement, inclusively the only socialist country in the world – Albania, for the common purpose to eliminate the danger of Stalinism, the danger of the regeneration of the socialist camp, the danger of the socialist world revolution and global spreading of world communism, and the danger of the anti-imperialist wars of the oppressed and exploited peoples.

Of course, both these international revisionist camps did not need to hide their revisionism behind the imperialists with which they both cooperated, however behind the revolutionary communist and workers' movement, especially behind socialist Albania. This meant that all these counter-revolutionary maneuvers were supported and in the interest of the whole world-imperialist system. The so called “Sino-Soviet Split” was thus totally in the service of anti-communism and is therefore unmasked and combated by the Comintern (SH).

Just like Soviet revisionism was the ideology of the new Soviet bourgeois class, also Maoism was the ideology of the Chinese “national” bourgeois class (that later would become the Chinese imperialist bourgeois class). Both these exploitative and oppressive classes had taken control over their countries and aimed at achieving the status of imperialist superpowers. And their respective ideologies were a valuable instrument to accomplish that. Contrary to what occurs with American / Western imperialism, the “red” and “socialistic” masks provided to them by their revisionist ideologies allowed them to mislead world oppressed and exploited working classes, to deceive world peoples and to put down their movements of resistance against imperialism. After all, in words, both China and Soviet Union were “socialist countries” and therefore, “incapable of imperialist or colonialist policies”. They made use of this in order to deceive the laboring classes of the world with the purpose of making those people confound socialism with the power of the bourgeois-revisionists and social-fascist cliques at their service. And many working peoples, particularly in the countries dependent on traditional imperialist powers were misled by the “Leninist” and “communist” masks of China and of the Soviet Union, replacing the enslaving dominance of their former colonialist masters by the enslaving neo-colonialist dominance of these new ones.

“Soviet social-imperialism even conceals its expansionist aims under the slogan of «aid for the proletarian revolution».” (Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China*, volume II, Tirana, edition in English)

“The Soviet revisionists are disguised capitalists. They betrayed socialism. The Soviet revisionists provide “aid” to other countries, but they do this from imperialist positions, while a socialist country is always inspired by Marxism-Leninism and by fair internationalist reasons when helping the others.” (Enver Hoxha, *Conversation with a delegation coming from the Popular Republic of Congo (Brazzaville)*, October 1970, edition in English)

Both revisionists and social-imperialists China and Soviet Union struggled against each other with the goal of conquering more resources, labor and neo-colonies to exploit in pursuit of maximum profits - in 1969, they even reached the point of clashing across their common border – something unthinkable if they were socialist countries, as between truly socialist countries the occurrence of war is impossible. Suslov’s speech of 14 February 1964 entitled “Controversy - Chinese petty-bourgeois nationalism and Trotskyism” originated a resolution against the Communist Party of China. On September 22, 1963, a Pravda article was published on instigation of Suslov (who after having been Khrushchev’s main collaborator in the struggle against “Molotov’s group” and was one of the driving forces that overthrew Khrushchev in 1964...), in which he stated that the 1950 defense pact between Soviet Union and China had been dissolved - in 1962, more than 5000 border incidents between Soviet Union and China had been reported. The Soviet revisionists feared a two-front war with NATO in the west and China in the East. In this speech, there were also many accusations of “Trotskyism” made by the Soviet revisionists against Chinese / Maoist revisionists. The Soviet revisionists rightly criticize the Maoists that the "theory of the impossibility of building communism in one country" is Trotskyist ideology and is borrowed from the "impossibility of building socialism in one country". The Maoists, on their side, affirm rightly that capitalism was restored in the Soviet Union. But both use their “criticisms” with the sole purpose of better hiding their own revisionism. That's the point. And this theory of "Chinese Marxism", attempts to replace Leninism as the Soviet revisionists are trying to substitute Stalinism by modern revisionism! That's why we need to attack and unmask both Maoism and Soviet revisionism on the issue of transition to communism to defend Stalinism. As we will conclude later in this article, Maoism and Trotskyism are indeed ideological twins. But the same occurs with Soviet revisionism and Trotskyism! In 1964, the Syrian revisionists published in their journal “Al Akbar” an article entitled “About the attitude of Chinese leaders” in which they stressed the necessity to convene a “world conference” against China. According to them: “The influence and extent of the deviation of the current leaders of the Communist Party of China cannot be compared with the deviation of the Trotskyists in the past. The Trotskyist group consisted of a numerically limited number of people.” This is indeed nothing more than a revisionist statement attempting to trivialize the crimes committed by the Trotskyists - justified by the "numerical" smallness of Trotskyist groupings.

In their text, Syrian pro-Soviet revisionists even try to depict social-fascist Khrushchev as having been some kind of “continuator” of comrade Lenin’s anti-Trotskyist struggle. In truth, the continuer of comrade Lenin's struggle against Trotskyism is comrade STALIN! All those who conceal the most prominent names in the struggle against Trotskyism or

fight against Stalin are indeed fostering Trotskyism. It is only possible to defeat Trotskyism on the basis of Stalinism. The Syrian revisionists praise instead Khrushchev as "continuer" of Leninist struggle against Trotskyism. It was Khrushchev who denounced the supposedly "terrorist measures" taken by comrade Stalin against the Trotskyists and rehabilitated Trotsky (for example, through the publication of the Trotskyist so-called "Testament of Lenin" in order to discredit comrades Lenin and Stalin in benefit of the pro-bourgeois, pro-capitalist-imperialist, revisionists and anti-communists Trotskyists).

And Syrian revisionists added that: "The digression of Chinese leaders, however, is the deviation of a leadership that has reached power over an unusually large country and has an huge state apparatus within the country and beyond." But what about the Trotskyist anti-Stalinism of the Soviet revisionists? The revisionist influence of the CPSU in the world communist movement is based mainly on anti-Stalinism of the Trotskyists. Thus, not only the Chinese had great capacity to spread Trotskyism, but the same can be affirmed relatively to Soviet revisionists - if not even more.

Furthermore, Khrushchevist attacks against Maoists accusing them of "petty-bourgeois nationalism" and of "personality cult" can easily be turned against themselves, as after comrade Stalin's death, exactly the same anti-socialist phenomenon occurred in the "C"PSU. The Soviet and Chinese leaders accuse each other of Trotskyism, but they all are united in applying methods of Trotskyists to annihilate the Marxist-Leninist world movement. They always penetrate within Marxist-Leninist parties to promote faction and division and to liquidate them. And the supposed "anti-Trotskyism" of Soviet and Chinese revisionists is only intended to keep proletarians, workers and other exploited and oppressed classes away from the authentic anti-Trotskyist struggle waged by comrades Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha.

And so, Soviet revisionists had to face the rivalry of the Chinese Maoist revisionists who always had desired to become leaders of the revisionist world. In order to achieve that, they tried to embrace revisionism and to agree with Khrushchev that "Stalin committed mistakes" (we should also remember Mao's famous sentence: "Khrushchev is the Lenin of our times"). However, Mao's great error was his underestimation of the great esteem that the Soviet Union still enjoyed among world proletarians, workers and oppressed and exploited classes. In 1956, nobody could predict the dimensions that the revisionist disease would reach, and most of the revisionist parties all over the world continued to see the Soviet Union as a "socialist" country. Indeed, the Soviet Union was seen with great esteem because it was the country in which the first successful socialist revolution had happened, it was the homeland of Lenin and Stalin, two of the greatest masters of the proletarian ideology, two Classics of Marxism-Leninism. It's true that Comrade Enver Hoxha and the PLA were very suspicious about the line which was being followed in the Soviet Union and about Khrushchev's intentions after the death of Stalin, but we must note that the PLA was born in circumstances which armed the Albanian Marxist-Leninists against all kinds of opportunisms. The PLA had to face revisionism since its very foundations and this made the Albanian communists more able to unmask all kinds of bourgeois ideologies, even the ones which are hidden. That's why the PLA was always

in the front line of the struggle against revisionist currents, from Titoism to Maoism. Nonetheless, many of the other “communist” parties promptly embraced Khrushchevist revisionism without questioning it. And this ready acceptance was precisely due to the already referred prestige that the Soviet Union enjoyed among the world toilers.

On the contrary, the Chinese 1949 bourgeois-democratic revolution, although seen with sympathy by progressives and even by communists, did not grant the Chinese revisionists sufficient admiration to obliterate the Soviet Union’s role as the world’s main revolutionary center, even because the Soviet Union had increased its strength with the essential role it played in the victory against nazi-fascism in the Second World War. For all these reasons, Mao and the Chinese revisionists could not accomplish their intentions of becoming the new leaders of the revisionist world. In face of this, the Maoists changed their strategy. Instead of playing the role of the Khrushchev’s supporters in the supposed struggle against “Stalin’s mistakes and deviations”, they appeared as the “unwavering Stalinists”, as the “orthodox Leninists”, as the “greatest defenders of Marxist-Leninist purity”. This tactical change occurred at a time in which many communists around the world and even within the Soviet Union began to challenge Khrushchev’s “anti-Stalin reports” as being anti-Marxist.

In previous chapters of DWM and also in other texts, we explained that the “anti-revisionist” struggle of the Maoists was nothing more than a big fraud. As comrade Enver noted:

“The Communist Party of China, too, opposed the Khrushchevites, but as the facts show, it proceeded from aims and objectives quite the opposite of those which impelled the Party of Labour of Albania to throw itself into the struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism.” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

“Many times, I have turned back to this period of the history of the Communist Party of China, trying to figure out how and why the profoundly revisionist line of 1956 subsequently seemed to change direction, and for a time, became “pure”, “anti-revisionist” and “Marxist-Leninist”. It is a fact, for example, that in 1960 the Communist Party of China seemed to be strongly opposing the revisionist theses of Nikita Khrushchev and confirmed that “it was defending Marxism-Leninism” from the distortions which were being made to it, etc. It was precisely because China came out against modern revisionism in 1960 and seemed to be adhering to Marxist-Leninist positions that brought about that our Party stood shoulder to shoulder with it in the struggle which we had begun against the Khrushchevites.

However, time confirmed, and this is reflected extensively in the documents of our Party, that in no instance, either in 1956 or in the ’60s did the Communist Party of China proceed or act from the positions of Marxism-Leninism.” (Enver Hoxha, *The Khrushchevites*, Tirana, 1980, edition in English)

Taking into account all this and now that we have analyzed and characterized the socio-economic material basis upon which Soviet false “anti-Maoism” emerged, we will now analyze the main “anti-Maoist” arguments put forward by the Soviet revisionists, we will now analyze the major alleged “ideological disagreements” between revisionist Soviet Union and Maoist China, namely relatively to the questions of comrade Stalin, of war, of peaceful coexistence and of peaceful transition.

2.1.1 – On comrade Stalin

The first “decisively divisive question” about which we will reflect is the one related with the so-called “Stalin question”.

During the Sino-Soviet supposed “ideological conflict”, Soviet revisionists depicted themselves as being defending “the veritable Marxist-Leninist path” through condemning comrade Stalin’s work and activity, through denying his immortal legacy, through rehabilitating the anti-communist bandits and criminals rightly annihilated during comrade Stalin’s times and through “struggle” against what they called “Stalinist tyranny and cult of personality”.

On the other side, Chinese revisionists tried to present themselves as being “authentic communists” and “defenders of Marxist-Leninist purity” because of their apparent “defense of comrade Stalin”. In this manner, they all made efforts to pass an image in which each side (Soviet and Chinese) posed as “the only truly Marxists-Leninists” combating the “anti-socialist deviations” of the other side.

In truth, reality was something else. Soviet revisionists and Chinese revisionists never had any kind of genuine disagreement concerning comrade Stalin, but on the contrary, both rejected his proletarian revolutionary and communist legacy in order to keep world working exploited and oppressed classes away from Stalinist ideology, the only one capable of indicating them the true path to their total and definitive liberation from capitalist-imperialist-revisionist bondage in order to keep wage slavery alive. Of course, both the Soviet and the Chinese, as the revisionists they were, had to prevent this.

On their part, after years of concealed conspirator plans, Soviet revisionists finally started to openly attack comrade Stalin on their infamous “XX Congress” in 1956. As comrade Enver Hoxha states:

“After they had consolidated their positions following the death of Stalin, Khrushchev and the group around him first of all launched their attack on the Marxist-Leninist ideology and began their struggle to dethrone Leninism by attacking Stalin and levelling against him all the slanders the filthy propaganda of the world capitalist bourgeoisie had long been fabricating. Thus, the Khrushchevites became the spokesmen and the executors of the wishes of capital against the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the revolution in the Soviet Union. They went to work systematically to liquidate the entire socialist structure of the Soviet Union,

they fought to liberalize the Soviet system, to transform the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a bourgeois state, and to transform the socialist economy and culture into a capitalist economy and culture. » (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

“The Khrushchevite revisionist line assisted imperialism and reaction to take advantage of the situation in order to launch an all-round attack on communism. Of particular assistance to this new attack on the revolution and socialism were the attacks and the slanders of the Khrushchevite revisionists on Stalin and his work.

The Khrushchevite revisionists started their campaign against Stalin in order to justify the anti-Marxist course which they had begun to follow inside and outside the country. They could not negate the dictatorship of the proletariat and transform the Soviet Union into a bourgeois-capitalist state, could not strike bargains with imperialism, without negating the work of Stalin. (...)

But for all the slanders and attacks of imperialists, revisionists and other enemies of the revolution, the name and work of Stalin remain immortal. Stalin was a great revolutionary, an outstanding theoretician, who ranks with Marx, Engels and Lenin.” (Enver Hoxha, *Eurocommunism is Anti-communism*, Tirana 1980, edition in English)

With the pretext of “fighting against Stalin’s cult of personality”, Khrushchevists inside and outside Soviet Union imposed the personality cult of Khrushchev. The struggle against so-called “personality cult” was not only related with the ascension of modern revisionists, but also to the fission within world communist movement, which leader was comrade Stalin, as “de-stalinization” was followed by the emergence of Titoism, of modern revisionism and, finally, of Maoism. For example, in their text entitled “On the disagreements in the communist and workers' world movement” which appeared on the Journal "Mordom", April 5, 1964 – (revisionist Tudeh-Party), the Iranian pro-Soviet revisionists also eloquently condemned the "cult of Stalin's personality," and replaced it with the cult of personality of Khrushchev - in one breath. Both Soviet revisionists and Maoists are words against the cult of personality, but both share in practice the defense of the cult of personality (Khrushchev / Brezhnev for the first ones – Mao for the second ones). The accusation of cult of personality against Comrade Stalin is only a pretext for the annihilation of Stalinism. "De-Stalinization" means the removal of Marxism-Leninism under the pretext of eliminating the so-called "cult of personality". The cult of personality was a weapon of propaganda cooperation between revisionists and imperialists. The fight against so-called "cult of personality" was not only the mask used by modern revisionists, but also one of the main causes of the split in the world communist movement, whose leader was Stalin, in order to promote "de-Stalinization" of the world communist movement and its replacement first by Titoism, then by Soviet revisionism and finally by Maoism.

In his book “Reflections on China”, comrade Enver Hoxha remarked that in 1956, Khrushchev immediately attacked the so-called "cult of Stalin”. He wanted to kill two

birds with one stone: Replace the “cult of Stalin” by his own cult within the country and play in the world Communist movement the role of first violin. He wanted no other rivals, of course, not Mao. But Mao had hoped, however, that the roles would be reversed: Khrushchev would be surpassed by Mao. But Khrushchev understood the situation and took measures in order to safeguard his dominant position.

Indeed, since comrade Stalin’s death, we can consider that comrade Enver’s socialist Albania was the only country where proletarian dictatorship under the leadership of a proletarian party of Leninist-Stalinist type in the true sense of its definition was a reality. And comrade Enver’s Albania was also the only country which never failed defending comrade Stalin from truly Marxist-Leninist positions, it was the only country always faithfully following comrade Stalin’s revolutionary path towards socialism and communism. Even in the most difficult conditions and under the most disgusting pressures, Albanian comrades always defended comrade Stalin’s glorious name and Work, many times knowing that this defense would cost immense sacrifices to themselves and their people, as it would grant them powerful revisionist and social-imperialist enemies. Already in 1960, comrade Enver fearlessly said in front of Soviet revisionists’ very own face:

“The Party of Labor of Albania thinks that it is no right, normal or Marxist, to blot out Stalin’s name and great work from all this epoch, as it is actually being done. We should all defend the good and immortal work of Stalin. He who does not defend it is an opportunist and a coward. » (PLA, *The Party of Labor of Albania in Battle with Modern revisionism, Speech delivered at the Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers’ Parties in Moscow on Nov. 16, 1960*, 1972, edition in English)

Decades later, he would affirm with his usual firmness:

“It is a crime to attack the great work of the Comintern and the Marxist-Leninist authority of Stalin, which played a major role in the creation and in the organizational, political and ideological consolidation of the communist and workers’ parties of the world. For its part, the Bolshevik Party was a powerful aid for those parties, and the Soviet Union, with Stalin at the head, was a great potential in support of the revolution in the international arena.” (Enver Hoxha, *The Khrushchevites*, Tirana, 1980, edition in English)

As true Marxists-Leninists-Stalinists, the Albanian communists simply could have never adopted another position different from the one consisting in relentless defense of comrade Stalin. Anything else would be opportunism, revisionism and anti-communism, and so the embracement of anything else would be unthinkable to the 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism.

Today, we, Stalinists-Hoxhaists know that Stalinism was the vital and decisive factor which permitted the survival of the proletarian dictatorship in Soviet Union. To deny Stalinist ideology means to deny the possibility of the successful socialist revolution; and the negation of the possibility of the successful socialist revolution is synonym of

considering communism as an impossible utopia, because the accomplishment of communism is dependent on the success of the socialist construction and on the revolutionary fierceness of the proletarian dictatorship.

Comrade Stalin's name will always be inherently linked with the most glorious side of socialist revolution and construction in Bolshevik Soviet Union Characterized by intense revolutionary abnegation and communist strength, comrade Stalin's fearless proletarian rule was an uninterrupted sequence of superb achievements; from the struggle against Trotskyist attempts to destroy socialism in the USSR to the heroic manner in which Comrade Stalin led the process of industrialization and of collectivization of the means of production, not to speak about the victory over Nazi-fascist and Western-American imperialisms' wars, attacks and encirclements, of which the Communist Party of Soviet Union (Bolshevist) – CPSU (B) - guided by Comrade Stalin was the main architect. Contrary to what the Soviet revisionists affirm, the Stalinist period was not an era of terror and dogmatism during which Marxism-Leninism knew stagnation. Indeed, it was the exact opposite to this. It was an era in which the Soviet working exploited and oppressed classes enjoyed the greatest freedom, they were living in a genuine proletarian democracy and they were successfully building socialism. Indeed, by the time comrade Stalin passed away, all the necessary premises and basic conditions to the advancement from socialism to communism were ready. To have prevented the advancement from socialism to communism in the Soviet Union and to have destroyed socialism there are undoubtedly among revisionists' greatest crimes for which they will answer in the future. The criticism directed by Soviet revisionism against Chinese revisionism and vice-versa try to evade and refuse the issue of building communism under the conditions of imperialism. Both the Chinese and the Soviet revisionists have betrayed the doctrines of Stalinism on the construction of communism. Both the Maoists and the Soviet revisionists were and are opponents of Stalinism in the Soviet Union.

It is true that socialism had been fully accomplished, and that capitalism was restored in the Soviet Union under the cloak of the “transition to communism” (- see: program of the CPSU on the XXII Congress). On the contrary, capitalism had never been eliminated in China. To deny this would be one of the false arguments of the Maoists in 1964, for example. To firmly stress this is inevitable: without full development of socialism in the Soviet Union, Stalin would not have initiated the transformation to communism. Socialism in the Soviet Union WAS already fully developed and thus ripe for transition to communism – as Stalin teaches. Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism teaches that the victory of communism in “one” country cannot be guaranteed without the dictatorship of the world proletariat and world socialism. Communism can be performed in “one” country but not guaranteed as long as the imperialist encirclement exists. Communism in “one” country can only be guaranteed in the period of world socialism. Full development of world socialism is required for the transition to world communism – thus expressively in all countries of the world. This is the only way how to change “one” communist country into one communist country (without quotation marks). The transition to world communism begins with the abolition of classes on a global scale which develops during the whole world-historical period of world socialism - between world capitalism and world communism. In the Soviet Union, all the objective and subjective conditions for

the transition to communism had matured. We, Stalinists-Hoxhaists, therefore defend the teachings of Stalin's transition from socialism to communism in the Soviet Union. As we also remark in the *"introduction"*-part of our world-communist program, Stalinism teaches that the transition of communism in "one" country is possible even under conditions of world imperialism as demonstrated by the Soviet Union which had fully developed the stage of socialism. Therefore, we can derive the thesis that communism in "one" country is doubtlessly not only possible but unavoidable during the period of world socialism. Stalinism-Hoxhaism teaches that Communism - on a world scale - does not mean that a country will achieve its transition to communism at the same time as all the other countries. Even in world socialism the law of unequal development of socialist countries is valid. And even in world communism certain differences will remain in the development of single communist countries until the complete development of world communism – namely when all nations have merged and finally disappeared.

But it was precisely the Soviet revisionists themselves, who did everything they could to prevent the transition from socialism to communism in theory and practice. We already analyzed this in our texts based on the Works of the Classics. With their false "anti-Maoism" on the issue of transition to communism, the Soviet revisionists camouflaged the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. The only difference between Maoism and Soviet revisionism on the issue of transition to communism is that the Maoists deny this openly while the Soviet revisionists, in words they say "yes" to the transition to communism, but had abandoned it in deeds, not only the Stalinist road of communism, but socialism through capitalist restoration.

Therefore, Stalinism represents an irreplaceable and inestimable development of the Marxist-Leninist theory, and to deny Comrade Stalin's contribution means to deny socialist revolution in itself. Comrade Stalin is the 4th Classic of Marxism-Leninism. And as we Marxists-Leninists know, the negation of the teachings of one of the Classics of Marxism-Leninism means the denial of the teachings of all of them as a whole, as they all form an unbreakable unity. And the negation of the teachings of the Classics of Marxism-Leninism means the denial of scientific, materialist, dialectical communist ideology in its entirety.

It is important to take all this in consideration and to make our Stalinist-Hoxhaist (SH) positions absolutely clear before we go forward to present and compare the supposed "abyssal differences" between Soviet revisionists and Chinese revisionists in this matter.

Here are the "arguments" of the Soviet revisionists in their false "anti-Maoist struggle". This first one is taken from one of the Soviet letters of response to the notorious "Chinese proposal concerning the general line of the international communist movement" (1963):

"There are serious differences between the CPC and the CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist parties on the question of combating the consequences of the Stalin personality cult. The CPC leaders have taken upon themselves the role of defenders of the personality cult and peddlers of Stalin's erroneous ideas. They are trying to impose upon other parties the order of things, the ideology and morals, the forms

and methods of leadership that flourished in the period of the personality cult. Let it be frankly said that this is an unenviable role, and one that will bring them neither honor nor glory. No one will succeed in persuading Marxists-Leninists, or progressives in general, to take up the defense of the personality cult. The Soviet people and the world communist movement highly appreciate the courage, boldness, the truly Leninist firmness of principle displayed by our party and its Central Committee headed by N. S. Khrushchov in eliminating the consequences of the personality cult.” (<http://www.marxists.org/history/international/comintern/sino-soviet-split/cpsu/openletter.htm>, *Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU to All Party Organizations, To All Communists of the Soviet Union*, July 14, 1963, edition in English)

“The leadership of the Communist Party of China lauds the Stalin's cult, opposing our criticism of the personality cult and our measures to combat its consequences. This in itself, of course, is already a serious interference in the affairs of our Party.” (<http://www.marxists.org/history/international/comintern/sino-soviet-split/cpsu/certain-aspects.htm>, *Certain Aspects of The Inner Life of the Communist Party of China*, June, 1964, edition in English)

Courage?!! Boldness?!! Leninist firmness of principle?!!! We will not unmask and denounce all the huge evil lies and slanders fabricated by the Soviet revisionists against comrade Stalin and against authentic socialism. They cause us immense indignation and we will only say that what does not bring neither honor neither glory is the transformation of Soviet Union into a social-fascist and social-imperialist country which harshly repressed its own peoples while savagely exploiting and oppressing working classes' abroad. Contrary to what the Soviet revisionists affirm, to defend Stalinism is indeed a path of honor and glory. It is their bourgeois-capitalist machinations that only brought shame and decadence in favor of the interests of world bourgeois class and against the advancement of world socialist revolution. The “unviable” shame and defeat belong to them - it is our Stalinist-Hoxhaist struggle that will be crowned with honor and glory. And by the way, the ones who implemented the real “cult” were themselves, because by restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union and by turning it into a social-imperialist neo-colonialist superpower, they imposed the merciless cult of relentless exploitation to achieve maximum profit at home and abroad through oppression and enslavement of world working classes. What world communist movement and world peoples will truly appreciate is the day when truth will be finally revealed, Soviet and all other kinds of revisionists finally pay for their crimes and world will advance towards a classless and stateless society based on the teachings of the Classics, including on the ones of our beloved and irreplaceable comrade Stalin. We know that this paragraph is not essential to this article's theme, but we could not avoid writing it. The reading of the abhorrently anti-communist and anti-Stalinist slanders invented by Soviet revisionists reveals impressively that the Soviet-revisionists had cowardly hidden their liquidation of Stalinism behind the mask of “struggle against personal-cult”.

Anyway, what really matters to the subject being analyzed here is that Soviet revisionists present Chinese Maoist revisionists as being “sectarian Stalinists” who “stubbornly defend Stalin's crimes and applaud his personality cult” (this is typical from

Krushchevists, who insisted that “dogmatism and sectarianism was the main danger while, on the contrary, the main danger was modern revisionism. With the “main danger” of dogmatism, the modern revisionists intended to attack that which was the main danger for them: Marxism-Leninism. “Anti-dogmatism” is the weapon of revisionists in the fight against Marxism-Leninism, behind which they hide their own revisionism).

Soviet revisionists try to attack both comrade Stalin and the opportunist Mao in the same manner, thus depicting Stalinism and Maoism as being synonyms, thus eliminating distinction between them and attempting to discredit Stalinism in front of the eyes of the world working classes by equating it with “an unbearable sectarian tyranny” and with Maoist social-fascism, which was always an opponent of Stalinism – both in words and deeds. Soviet revisionists might have been bandits, but they were not stupid. They didn’t lose an opportunity to demonize the only ideology which could lead to the destruction of their own bourgeois-capitalist-imperialist power and to the restoration of proletarian dictatorship and of socialism. Even outside Soviet Union, there were many lackey parties following the Soviet revisionists who repeated like parrots their anti-Stalinist calumnies and false “anti-Maoist struggle”. For example, the “Communist” (pro-Soviet revisionist) Party of Denmark affirmed that it would “struggle to prevent the repetition of the errors due to Stalin’s cult of personality. Therefore, it opposes the implementation of it in China.” And it also accuses the Chinese revisionists of “dividing” the world communist movement. In truth, both Soviet revisionists and Chinese revisionists are divisors of world communist movement – while one of them justifies its anti-Stalinism with the name of Lenin, the other tries to fabricate a “Stalinist” appearance by using comrade Stalin’s name to hide its own anti-Stalinism. With the mentioned division, the first of them tries to keep its supremacy over world revisionism while the second tries to conquer it. True communists could never qualify themselves as being the main force and vanguard of Lenin’s party without Stalin. The most important duty of all the genuine communists is to defend not only Lenin but also Stalin, just like comrade Enver Hoxha made. All those who “defend” unity in words under the banner of Lenin but at the same time struggles against unity under the banner of Stalin cannot be called a true communist – but it is nothing more than an enemy of the unity of the world communist movement. That’s why all revisionists without exception are invariably and inevitably enemies of unity, no matter how much they scream the contrary. In his 1969 article entitled “**False anti-imperialism, counter-revolutionary mask of Khrushchevist revisionism**”, comrade Enver Hoxha explained that “**in the revisionist kennel there cannot be true unity and stability.**” Thus, “**each new crisis will divide even more the international revisionist front**”: if the revisionists are indeed “**united in a single-revolutionary front against their hostility and their common struggle against Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary forces who defend it**”, they are nevertheless “**related to the interests of their own national bourgeoisie**” which necessarily brings “**contradictions and conflicts with the revisionist cliques of other countries.**”

In 1964, Turkish pro-Soviet revisionists affirmed in their newspaper “Eni Tschag” that “the positions of the Communist Party of China and of the Chinese leaders have caused fission.” Indeed, the first fission was caused by the Titoists, the second by the Soviet revisionists and the third one by Chinese revisionists. So, the same that Turkish pro-

Soviet revisionists are affirming for Chinese revisionism can also be applied to Soviet revisionism. These revisionisms are the ones which caused fission and division because they broke Stalinist world camp and replaced it by the revisionist world camp, they prevented the achievement of communism in Soviet Union and submerged world proletarians, workers and all other exploited and oppressed classes in their anti-MLSH poison. From a Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, it is the duty of all communists to combat Soviet revisionism, Chinese revisionism and all other kinds of revisionism and neo-revisionism. It is not possible to side with a certain revisionist current in order to fight against the others.

Also in 1964, Syrian pro-Soviet revisionists accused Maoist leaders of “dividing the communist movement.” On their journal "Al Akbar" in an article entitled “'3 Ultra-foolishness' – On the attitude of the Chinese leaders”, April 12, 1964, they affirmed that Chinese revisionists were “spreading calumnies about capitalist restoration in Soviet Union and its cooperation with American imperialism” and of “wanting to establish split, cleavage and division as an universal law of communist movement”. Concerning the first two accusations, in fact, as we have already proved, when China signed the Moscow Declaration in 1960, where the Soviet Union was characterized as a socialist country. However, in 1960, SU was not just a capitalist country, but also a country that exploited and oppressed not only the countries of the "socialist world" but also the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Syrian revisionists claim that the Soviet Union is the friend of the Arab peoples. Enver Hoxha showed that SU harshly exploited and repressed the Arab peoples. In 1960, the collaboration between Soviet social-imperialists with the U.S. imperialists (including the Arab World) already existed. Indeed, the Soviet Union supported the Arab bourgeoisie. Arab communists were put in prison and killed - with Soviet weapons! Like Khrushchev cooperated with the most reactionary Arab against Arab revolutionary leaders, Mao Tsetung also did the same. Maoism was a colonialist ideology of repression and exploitation of Arab world by the Chinese.

And Syrian Khrushchevists state that: “Arab nations condemn our disgust and anger with the "theory" of Chinese leaders calling for an intermediate zone or neutral zone, for what they mean, essentially, West Germany, England, France, China, etc.. (...) So, the Chinese leaders qualify as "neutrality" the imperialist West German equipment of Israel with weapons to penetrate the Arab countries? Or the "neutrality" of the British imperialists to bomb inhabited areas in Yemen and Oman? Are the French military bases in North Africa, an expression of the "neutrality" of French imperialism?” Of course, this anger of the Syrian pro-Soviet revisionists does not extend to the “neutral” neo-colonialist and social-fascist penetration of Soviet imperialists in the Arab world. Here we have a scandalous proof of revisionist double standing...

In 1960, battle between the SU and U.S. for world hegemony was reality. So, contrary to what Syrian revisionists affirm, it was not a “Chinese calumny”. But the Chinese revisionists exercise their “criticism” of the Russian social-imperialism only for the reason to better hide their own social-imperialism (just like the Chinese revisionists had abused their alleged "anti-revisionist restoration of capitalism" just to hide their own capitalist way).

In what respects to their third accusation, actually, the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism never considered division as "law of development of the world communist movement." The division of the world proletariat is an instrument of the world bourgeoisie to maintain its rule. Cleavage is not a fatal law of nature of the class struggle. To base ourselves on the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism is the most effective way to prevent cleavage by the bourgeoisie and to protect the unity of the world communist movement and to strengthen it. The world communist movement must be cleaned from the blisters and dividers. That's the right world Bolshevik attitude that Chinese leaders never practiced. The "theory" of Maoist division as a law of development of the world communist movement unit is the "theory" of the Maoist so-called "struggle between two lines" and of the Maoist "theory" of the "hundred schools" (these issues were already studied in other texts, but they will also be further developed by us later in this DWM IV):

To leave the bourgeoisie and its line of middle class in the party and to impose this as a law of development of the party is a crime against the unity of the Bolshevik Party. This party itself develops by being purged of opportunist elements. This is the Bolshevik line. Maoism is an anti-Bolshevik line. Contrary to what Syrian revisionists insinuate, the Soviet revisionists don't defend the unity against Maoism. The crimes of the Soviet revisionists are that they divided the world communist movement behind the so-called "fight against Maoism". The unity of the Soviet revisionists is based on the anti-Stalinism unity. Anti-Stalinists are never defenders of the world communist movement unity, but dividers and annihilators of it. Both Soviet revisionists and Maoists are divisors of the world communist movement, the Soviet revisionists hide this behind Leninism, while the Maoists hiding this behind Stalinism.

Of course, there can be situations when division is justified because the Marxist-Leninist line will be replaced at by a revisionist line at the party, then it is indeed the duty of Marxist-Leninists to start a new Marxist-Leninist party and to fight against the old degenerate party. So it all depends on the political line. Cleavage in defense of Marxism-Leninism can not be equated with cleavage against Marxism-Leninism. When thinking about cleavage we must always resort to the class question: "What class benefits and what class suffer damages because of the cleavage?" The revisionist parties pretend to "defend Marxist-Leninist unity" (they are supposedly "based on" the teachings of Lenin's struggle against factionalism), and attack Maoism just because the Maoists are hiding their revisionism behind Marxism-Leninism. The revisionist parties split openly (they have the power), while the Maoists split covertly (they have to conquer the power yet). In essence, the two are divisors of the communist party, are enemies of Marxism-Leninism. Of course, the Maoists keep the cloak of "Marxism-Leninism" to establish a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party. The fact that the Maoists have no interest in a Marxist-Leninist party has been seen in many countries where the Maoists have supported various "Marxist-Leninist" parties. There is only one working class, and can therefore be only a communist party. Maoists deny this and therefore are lackeys of the bourgeoisie, weakening the Marxist-Leninist movement to strengthen their positions.

But let's return to "anti-Maoist arguments" of the Soviet revisionists, who continued with their anti-Stalinist zeal:

"By permitting abuses of power within our Party and in relation to fraternal Parties and annihilating people who had opinions of their own, he forfeited people's confidence and destroyed his own prestige. During and after the war, Stalin himself apparently felt that one should not order Parties about at one's own will. This, in particular, was one of the reasons for the dissolution of the Comintern.

After Stalin's death our Party, having analyzed all these things in an honest and Marxist-Leninist way, took steps to correct the situation that had arisen. On its own initiative, the CC CPSU corrected Stalin's errors and restored the Leninist principle of equality in its relations with fraternal Parties and countries. (...) It is not superfluous to note that the CC CPC fully approved these steps taken by our Party and set a high value on them."

(<http://www.marxists.org/subject/china/documents/polemic/sevenlet.htm#l7>, *Letter of The Central Committee of the CPSU of March 7, 1964 to the Central Committee of the CPC*, edition in English)

In first place, we must denounce the lie that comrade Stalin was responsible for the destruction of the glorious former Comintern. It was Dimitrov and his rightist opportunism - the antecessor of Krushchevists and Soviet revisionists - that must be blamed as one of the main factors leading to the liquidation of the Comintern. However, what is most interesting with this last quotation from Soviet / Khrushchevist revisionists is their last affirmation that "the CPC fully approved these steps taken by our Party and set a high value on them". So, the Soviet revisionists are declaring that Chinese revisionists have approved their anti-Stalinist and anti-communist poison and that there are no relevant differences between them regarding this issue. This is one of the exceptions when Soviet revisionists failed to present the fabricated impression of the existence of "serious differences between them and the Chinese Maoists revisionists.

However, if we study the official documents of the Chinese revisionists, we will find many examples that prove that those referred and much propagandized "serious differences" between Soviet and Chinese revisionists concerning comrade Stalin never existed at all:

"(...) Stalin made some serious mistakes in regard to the domestic and foreign policies of the Soviet Union. His arbitrary method of work impaired to a certain extent the principle of democratic centralism both in the life of the Party and in the state system of the Soviet Union, and led to a disruption of socialist legality. Because in many fields of work Stalin estranged himself from the masses to a serious extent, and made personal, arbitrary decisions concerning many important policies, it was inevitable that he should have made grave mistakes. These mistakes stood out most conspicuously in the suppression of counter-revolution and in relations with certain foreign countries. In suppressing counter-revolutionaries, Stalin, on the one hand, punished many counter-revolutionaries whom it was necessary to punish and, in the

main, accomplished the tasks on this front; but, on the other hand, he wronged many loyal Communists and honest citizens, and this caused serious losses. On the whole, (...) in tackling certain concrete questions, he showed a tendency towards great-nation chauvinism and himself lacked a spirit of equality, let alone educating the mass of cadres to be modest. Sometimes he even intervened mistakenly, with many grave consequences, in the internal affairs of certain brother countries and parties.” (<http://www.marxists.org/history/international/comintern/sino-soviet-split/cpc/mhedp.htm>, *More on the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, edition in English)

In his speech "For new victories of the world communist movement" of January 6th, 1961, Khrushchev, the then leader of Soviet revisionists and anti-communists, said about the relationship with the Chinese:

"I want to draw attention to our unchanging effort to establish the bonds of fraternal friendship with the CPC. Our party may be in its relations with the CPC always guided by the fact that the friendship of the two great nations, the merger of the two parties (!), the enlargement of the world communist movement, is of extraordinary importance, our party will always continue to do everything possible to strengthen this friendship.

On the other hand, and simultaneously, Khrushchev said in his report to the XXII Congress of the "C"PSU on October 17, 1961, on relations with Albania:

"Albanian leaders did not agree with the conclusions of the deliberations of the fraternal parties in the years 1957 and 1960, which are known by the decisions of the Twentieth Congress and the price that our party had to pay to overcome the harmful consequences of the personality cult [!]. The Albanian leaders are now turning against our XX Congress, against the decisions of our party concerning the cult of Stalin's personality. Nobody will distract us from the Leninist path."

And the final word in his report presented at the XXII. Party "On the Program of the CPSU" provided by Khrushchev on 18 October, 1961 on Enver Hoxha:

“All the defects which gave us the period of the personality cult, manifests itself in their worst in the Party of Labour of Albania. Albanian leaders use to utilize violence and arbitrariness of power and prosecute people relentlessly [actually only Albanians agents of the Soviet revisionists and Titoists did this!]. The Albanians communist are victims of violent crimes of Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu [!]. Our party was delivered bitter attacks by them, as they are closed enemies of communism. However, it must be said that no one would have gone in such a dizzying pace rampant anti-Soviet propaganda, as did the Albanian leaders. Apparently they want some alms from the imperialists through splitting the communists [!].” This quotation demonstrates the reconciliatory attitude to the Chinese revisionists and simultaneously the deepest hostility to the Marxist-Leninists of Albania with comrade Enver Hoxha at the top.

In Soviet Union, the bourgeoisie was in fact destroyed as a class, but a new bourgeoisie formed the heart of the socialist society outside the control of the leaders of the state, the party, the mass organizations and technocrats and bureaucrats, intellectuals and labour aristocracy were newly formed – a privileged strata of the Soviet Union. Comrade Enver Hoxha correctly noted that: **"Today's Soviet state is managed as a collective capitalist means of production on behalf and in the interests of the new Soviet bourgeoisie. The socialist public ownership became a new type of state capitalism."** Only in China the bourgeoisie remained as an untouchable class, it simply was rejuvenated and strengthened by revisionist party cadres, state, transaction, etc.

Lenin taught that we have to build a new society, so that the revolutionary enthusiasm of the builders must necessarily be based on a consistent adherence to the principle of socialist material incentives. This was not only taught by Lenin, Stalin continued it in practice - an increase of socialist consciousness, according to the increased level of socialist life. But the Soviet revisionists abused the Leninist doctrine and hid the Stalinist doctrine, in order to disguise the material incentive for the restoration of capitalism. The encouragement of socialist material was replaced by the incentive of capitalist material. Revisionist material incentive is socialist material incentive in words and encouragement of capitalist material works! In China, however, there has never been an incentive socialist material, because China has never been a socialist country.

The Soviet revisionists never criticized that China has always been socialist only in words but capitalist in actions. That is exactly in what the "anti-Maoism" of Soviet revisionists fundamentally differ from the authentic anti-Maoism of comrade Enver Hoxha and the Marxist-Leninist world movement!

The Soviet revisionists went on affirming that: "Strength of the effect of the law of uneven economic and political development of capitalism wins the socialist revolution in different countries at different times, and therefore the construction of a socialist society in these countries is completed at different times. As a result, some countries start a little earlier and others a little later with the construction of communism. The development of socialist states under one world socialist system and the use of the principles and advantages of this system give them the opportunity to shorten the deadlines for the establishment of socialism, open the perspective for an - in the area of a historical period - or more less simultaneous transition to communism."

This is exactly what has been touted in the "C"PSU Program, but was prevented, in fact, by the actual restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union! This is precisely the betrayal of the Soviet revisionists of Stalinism and the transition to communism! And the "anti-Maoism" of the Soviet revisionists is characterized in that the Chinese are turning more difficult the way of the Soviet Union and its revisionist world with the alleged "way of the world socialist camp for world communism" barred by Chinese's cleavage.

The blame for delays and failures on the road to communism is always the revisionism of other countries, and never revisionism of their own country. Their own revisionism is hidden behind false attacks against revisionism in other countries.

This applies both to Soviet revisionism and Maoism, and therefore also for the "anti-Soviet revisionism" of the Chinese revisionists and to the "anti-Maoism" of the Soviet revisionists.

The cleavage of the revisionist world camp, the complete and versatile settlement of the world communist movement has further accelerated the path of the Chinese and Soviet revisionists towards world imperialism and not towards world communism.

Today, the world imperialist system creates the conditions of globalization, the objective conditions for its collapse, we are faced with the straightforward task to destroy the world imperialist system of states by the world socialist revolution and establish world socialism and then global communism over their world ruins.

The Krushchevists expel more rubbish: "Undoubtedly, this requires the presence of imperialist countries and the antagonistic contradictions between the socialist and the capitalist system, inevitably, the expenditure of specific and significant forces of the socialist countries to tame [!] the aggressive claims of imperialism."

We must ask: How will you be able to build world communism successfully without world imperialism defeated and annihilated by armed violent socialist revolution? The "theory" of "domestication of imperialism" is a totally counter-revolutionary and revisionist "theory". The same applies to the Maoist "theory of imperialist paper tigers". Both "theories" entirely contradict Marxism-Leninism.

Moreover, the Soviet revisionists state: "Some socialist countries face in their programmatic documents completion of construction of socialist society. Today or tomorrow they will be wrapped by the same problems facing our country. Should they benefit from the pseudo-revolutionary doctrine of neo-Trotskyist [!] and should slow down its development up to that time, as the world revolution is victorious?"

Here, the Soviet revisionists were enemies of world revolution and hid behind their alleged "fight" against the Trotskyite view that the construction of socialism "in a" country was only possible after the world revolution triumphed. Today, we Stalinists-Hoxhaists are demonized as Trotskyists, because we defend the world socialist revolution. In the fight against us, and the world socialist revolution, liquidators today are still based on Soviet revisionism! That is why our struggle against Soviet revisionism for the defence of the socialist world revolution is only relevant as we simultaneously fight also against Maoism.

Soviet revisionists remark: "When Soviet missiles, tanks, planes that are returned are nuclear weapons and other modern weapons are turned against those who are in the hands of imperialism, then the cause of socialism and peace will lose."

If this were true, then why Soviet Union has then refused to equip the world socialist camp with nuclear weapons, in particular with the requirements of the Chinese

revisionists to meet nuclear weapons? Because the Russian social-imperialism in this matter cooperated with U.S. imperialism! At the same time, revisionist China accomplished the atomic bomb in 1964 without the help of the Russians. Their first atomic bomb was a sign of their emerging imperialist hegemony. So far, not a single nuclear bomb was ever in the hands of other revisionist countries, and certainly is not in the hands of socialism and peace. In the world, the Russian and Chinese revisionist social-imperialism remained a monopoly of nuclear weapons.

The Soviet revisionists: “The party is firmly convinced that there is today no more forces would be able to destroy the socialist camp.”

The truth was that the Revisionist Party of the Soviet Union itself was the largest and most decisive force for the destruction of the world socialist camp. And that was one reason why the imperialist world needed not to make war against the revisionist Soviet Union at that time. The Cold War was directed only against Stalinism and of the danger of its return! Before Khrushchev, the imperialists had fear only to Stalin. And Khrushchev was more afraid of a return to Stalin as of the imperialists. That's why Khrushchev became a bitter enemy of Enver Hoxha and Socialist Albania. And the more Khrushchev fought the small Albania, the more he unintentionally supported the restoration of Stalinism and the strengthened the development of the weaponry of Hoxhaism.

More revisionist rubbish: “The Soviet Union bears the burden of defending the socialist world system. This is precisely one of the manifestations of proletarian internationalism in action.”

In “action” there was not a single manifestation of proletarian internationalism, but of the power of the military world of Russian imperialism, which represented the main threat to the peace of nations, together with U.S. imperialism. The two superpowers were the greatest oppressors of the liberation struggle of the peoples, the biggest extinguishers of the fire of socialist revolution of the world proletariat, the greatest enemies of the only socialist country in the world, Albania, and of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement of Comrade Enver Hoxha. And in the wake of the two superpowers, Mao Zedong laid the foundations for the imperialist ascension of the Chinese superpower.

The Soviet revisionists: “The construction of communism in the Soviet Union is one of the most important components of the development of the world revolutionary movement, the struggle for the victory of socialism in the world.” – we must use our irony to answer this by affirming that it is undoubtedly why the Soviet revisionists actually murdered Stalin and turned the Soviet Union into an imperialist superpower!

And there is more from the Soviet revisionists / Khrushchevist revisionists: “The economic competition of the two systems is an objective law.” Actually, this is pure economism at a point that the class struggle and armed socialist revolution, the conquest of political power of the proletariat, the dictatorship of the proletariat, etc. are considered

"unnecessary and redundant" or even "avoidable" and "adventurer" and on top of that is they are even "anti-Marxist-Leninist."

An objective law is not the peaceful economic competition between socialism and capitalism, but the class struggle between socialism and capitalism, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, which is crowned with the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the victory of world socialism - or the restoration of capitalism - as in SU. Stalinism teaches that the international class struggle intensifies in the same proportion that the world socialist is strengthened – when its economic strength, but also political power increases.

The Soviet revisionists: "One of the worst sins of the Chinese media and those repeating it, is that they try to pull the anti-imperialist peasant masses of the East from the alliance with the world socialist system and the Soviet Union and bring these powerful forces in opposition. The history of our Party and of world communism teaches that hidden behind the petty bourgeois, pseudo-coloured revolutionary spirit, lies liquidationism and therein lies the objective nature of the "concepts" of Chinese leaders and their friends with similar interests. The Soviet Union must denounce in the eyes of the peoples of Asia, Africa and South America this liquidating scenario."

Here speaks the new Russian bourgeoisie over the Chinese bourgeoisie! The liquidationism of the Russian bourgeoisie is, in essence, no different than liquidationism from the Chinese bourgeoisie - both accuse each other of liquidationism under the guise of Marxism-Leninism.

Soviet revisionists: "The new ideological opponents, in which Marxists and Leninists of all countries have found their enemy has certain particularities: it does not act out, but within the communist movement, veiled with the Flag of Defence of Marxism-Leninism *[and even of Stalinism! - remark of the editor]* when it is alien and hostile to these ideas *[this description corresponds to both the revisionist ideas of Russian social-imperialist and the revisionist ideas of Maoism! - remark of the editor]* and manipulate the revolutionary feelings of the masses to achieve goals that have nothing in common with the interests of the socialist revolution."

Here, the Soviet revisionists are only talking about themselves!

And there is much more:

"The reason why the mistakes made by Stalin during the later years of his life became serious, nation-wide and persistent, and were not corrected in time, was precisely that in certain fields and to a certain degree, he became isolated from the masses and the collective and violated the principle of democratic centralism of the Party and the state. The reason for certain infractions of democratic centralism lay in certain social and historical conditions: the Party lacked experience in leading the state; the new system was not sufficiently consolidated to be able to resist every encroachment of the influence of the old era (the consolidation of a new system and

the dying away of the old influences do not operate in a straightforward fashion but often assume the form of an undulating movement at turning points in history); there was the constricting effect which acute internal and external struggles had on certain aspects of the development of democracy, etc. Nevertheless, these objective conditions alone would not have been enough to transform the possibility of making mistakes into their actual commission. Lenin, working under conditions which were much more complicated and difficult than those encountered by Stalin, did not make the mistakes that Stalin made. Here, the decisive factor is man's ideological condition. A series of victories and the eulogies which Stalin received in the latter part of his life turned his head. He deviated partly, but grossly, from the dialectical materialist way of thinking and fell into subjectivism. He began to put blind faith in personal wisdom and authority; he would not investigate and study complicated conditions seriously or listen carefully to the opinions of his comrades and the voice of the masses. As a result, some of the policies and measures he adopted were often at variance with objective reality. He often stubbornly persisted in carrying out these mistaken measures over long periods and was unable to correct his mistakes in time. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has already taken measures to correct Stalin's mistakes and eliminate their consequences. These measures are beginning to bear fruit. The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union showed great determination and courage in doing away with blind faith in Stalin, in exposing the gravity of Stalin's mistakes and in eliminating their effects. Marxist-Leninists throughout the world, and all those who sympathize with the communist cause, support the efforts of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to correct mistakes, and hope that the efforts of the Soviet comrades will meet with complete success. It is obvious that since Stalin's mistakes were not of short duration, their thorough correction cannot be achieved overnight, but demands fairly protracted efforts and thoroughgoing ideological education. We believe that the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which has already overcome countless difficulties, will triumph over these difficulties and achieve its purpose.” (<http://www.marxists.org/history/international/comintern/sino-soviet-split/cpc/mhedp.htm>, *More on the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, edition in English)

So, where are the “irreconcilable differences”? Where are the “abyssal disagreements”? Where are the serious differences” so much proclaimed to exist between Soviet revisionists and Chinese Maoist revisionist concerning comrade Stalin? We cannot find them. It seems obvious that the affirmation of existence of such “differences” by the Soviet revisionists is part of their false “anti-Maoism” in order to replace debate between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism by a false “debate” between two types of revisionism whose aims, purposes and even their positions are basically the same! Indeed, the same criticisms that we had made towards Soviet revisionists can be directed also against Chinese Maoist revisionists, who affirm that “the courage and determination” of the Soviet revisionists in annihilating Stalinist proletarian dictatorship and restoring imperialist-capitalist exploitation, oppression and all its inherent evils must be applauded. Those whose anti-socialist ideology is based on Buddhist religion and on Confucianism affirm that comrade Stalin – the 4th Classic of Marxism-Leninism – suffered from

“subjectivism”. In their disgusting mouth, comrade Stalin “committed serious mistakes”. But during Stalinist times, Soviet Union successfully built socialism and was advancing towards communism, while China never had nothing to do with socialism and became a social-fascist country internally and a social-imperialist superpower externally. Today, China is a paradise for the exploitative billionaires who live in their palaces while the working and living conditions of the wage slaves resemble those practiced in the Nazi-fascist slave labor camps. Furthermore, in “Imperialism and the Revolution”, comrade Enver asserted that in China a ridiculous personality cult was set up around Mao, who used to proudly affirm that he didn’t even listen to the radio neither read any newspapers. And yet, the Chinese revisionists are the ones saying that comrade Stalin “was isolated, had his head turned and was not modest”. You’re the ones suffering from the defects you point to others, gentlemen the Maoist revisionists!

Relatively to comrade Stalin, there are no essential differences between the positions of Soviet revisionists and those of Maoist revisionists. Both struggle against comrade Stalin – the first of them in a more explicit manner and the second in a more concealed manner. They both reject comrade Stalin’s teachings and legacy, praising Khrushchev’s quest to prevent that world proletarians and workers can embrace Stalinism and definitively get rid of wage enslaving bondage. The apparent “dispute” that they consciously created was solely intended by each of them to discredit an imperialist-capitalist rival as “revisionist” so it could conquer the support and put down the class resistance struggle of the toiling masses among whom communist ideology hold immense prestige by presenting itself as being “authentically communist”. So, it is now obvious that the supposed “anti-Maoism” displayed by Soviet revisionists concerning “Stalin’s question” is a complete fake. Indeed, after met with Mao in the 50’s, comrade Enver had warned that:

“To tell the truth, our impressions from this meeting were not what we expected (...) From the talk with Mao we did not learn anything constructive, which would be of value to us, and the meeting seemed to us mostly a gesture of courtesy. We were especially disappointed over the things we heard from the mouth of Mao about (...) Stalin (...).” (Enver Hoxha, *The Khrushchevists*, Tirana, 1980, edition in English)

Already then, Mao’s positions concerning comrade Stalin were entirely opportunist, just like those displayed by the Soviet revisionists. At that time, comrade Enver and the other Albanian Marxists-Leninists still expected something else, they still expected Mao to adopt principled Marxist-Leninist stands, but they came up with the conclusion that the “divergences” between Soviet and Chinese concerning Stalin were a big fraud and a mere façade invented by two branches of revisionism representing two social-fascist bourgeoisies – they actually didn’t exist, just like Soviet “anti-Maoism” didn’t exist.

Soviet revisionists tried to present their attacks against comrade Stalin as proof of their “spirit of self-criticism” that the Chinese revisionists were not capable of practicing. But the fact that Soviet and Chinese revisionist leaders screamed denouncements against each other is ultimately benefic for us, Stalinists-Hoxhaists, as it provides us with valuable arguments to unmask both Soviet revisionism and Chinese/Maoist revisionism.

It is clear that the death of Stalin led to the split of the world communist movement. The murder of Stalin was the clearest proof of this. The world bourgeoisie understood that the world communist movement would fall under the influence of modern revisionism. To prevent success of the struggle against modern revisionism by the world communist movement, the world bourgeoisie supported not only the Soviet imperialists, but also the Maoists. Chinese revisionism had the task of liquidating the world communist movement again if it would ever liberated from the domination of modern revisionism. But finally it became clear that the Maoist activities in this division could not be carried out openly. Maoism was therefore difficult to unmask for the world communist movement, as over 15 years it was hidden behind the struggle against modern revisionism before being unmasked in 1978 by the PLA with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head. [The world communist movement was freed from the influence of modern revisionism during the period from 1978 (China's rupture with Albania) to the death of comrade Enver Hoxha in 1985. Since 1985, it was under the influence of neo-revisionism - up to 2000. Since the year of the founding of the Communist International (SH), the world communist movement has been freed from the influence of neo-revisionism].

2.1.2 – On Peaceful Coexistence and on War

The second “issue of divergence” between Soviet and Chinese/Maoists revisionists about which we will reflect is that concerning so-called “peaceful coexistence” with world capitalism-imperialism. This “thesis” was fabricated by the Khrushchevist revisionists to justify capitulation to world bourgeois class and also to justify wage slavagist restoration in Soviet Union together with the country's new social-imperialist policy.

But who better than the 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism to unmask this ultra-opportunist “theory” from the Soviet revisionists? Very early, Enver understood the authentic purposes of this “peaceful coexistence”:

“(...) the Soviet revisionists preached Khrushchevite peaceful coexistence as the general line of the international communist movement and proclaimed "peaceful competition with US imperialism" as the road to the triumph of socialism in the Soviet Union and other countries. (...)

Gambling on the name of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, the Khrushchevite revisionists did their utmost to impose this anti-Marxist line of theirs, this revision of the Marxist-Leninist theory in all fields, on all the communist parties of the world. They wanted the communist and workers' parties of the world to adopt this revisionist line and transform themselves into counterrevolutionary parties, into blind tools of the bourgeois dictatorship, to serve capitalism.” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

“Equally in favor of imperialism and the bourgeoisie and harmful to the revolution was the other thesis of the 20th Congress of the CPSU about "peaceful coexistence", which the Khrushchevites tried to impose on the whole communist movement, extending it even to relations between classes, and between the peoples and their imperialist oppressors. According to the Khrushchevites, who presented the problem as "either peaceful coexistence or devastating war", there was no other solution for the peoples and the world proletariat but to bend their backs, to give up the class struggle, the revolution and any other action which "might anger" imperialism and provoke the outbreak of war.

In fact the Khrushchevite views about "peaceful coexistence", which were closely linked with those about the "changed nature of imperialism", were practically identical with the preachings of Browder that American capitalism and imperialism had allegedly become a factor of progress in post-war world development. The prettifying of American imperialism and the false image created about it slackened peoples' vigilance towards the hegemonic and expansionist policy of the United States of America and sabotaged the peoples' anti-imperialist liberation struggle. Both as an ideology and a practical political line, Khrushchevite "peaceful coexistence" urged the peoples, especially in the new states of Asia, Africa and Latin America, etc., to extinguish the "hotbeds from which the flames of war might burst out", to seek rapprochement and conciliation with imperialism, to take advantage of "international co-operation" for the "peaceful development" of their economy, etc. In its expressions, terms and other formulas, this line was the same as that preached by Browder (...).

The integration of the Soviet Union and other revisionist countries linked with it into the world capitalist economy has assumed large proportions. These countries have become some of the biggest importers of Western capital. Their debts, at least those which are made public, amount to tens of billions of dollars. Sometimes because of changing circumstances, such as those caused by the events in Afghanistan at present, this process is slowed down, but it never stops. The capitalist interests of the two sides are so great that in special situations they override all their frictions, rivalries and clashes.

The Soviet revisionists used the thesis about "peaceful coexistence" not only to justify their policy of concessions to and compromises with American imperialism. This line also served and is still serving them as a mask to hide the expansionist policy of Soviet social-imperialism, in order to lower the vigilance and resistance of the peoples to the imperialist plans of the Soviet revisionist leaders for hegemony. The thesis about "peaceful coexistence" was a call of the Soviet revisionists to the American imperialists to divide up the world and rule it jointly.” (Enver Hoxha, *Eurocommunism is Anti-communism*, Tirana 1980, edition in English)

This quotation from comrade Enver synthesizes the essential objectives of the Soviet revisionists' thesis about “peaceful coexistence” as an opportunist deviation intended to stop the struggle of world working classes for their liberation in the name of “avoiding

war with imperialists”. So, world proletarians, workers and other exploited and oppressed classes should refrain from their class struggles against their exploiters just because “that might cause the fury of the imperialists and thus launch the world into war”.

We, Stalinists-Hoxhaists, are not warmongers, but we are not afraid of war either. If world socialist revolution is not able to prevent imperialist world war, then we must transform this imperialist world war into a revolutionary civil war at a global scale. Of course, revisionists and opportunists of all types reject this because they want to prevent world workers from taking up weapons against world imperialists-capitalists to defeat them through violent means, as is indeed entirely necessary and the only manner to achieve victory. These are the correct stands about this issue on which we base ourselves. All revisionist currents, from Khrushchevism and Maoism to Titoism, defend anti-socialist stands on this matter.

Soviet revisionists tried to present their “ideas” on this question as “true Leninist” and made and once made an affirmation their official documents that we will display here:

“The facts go to show that efforts to prevent a world war in no way weaken the forces of the world communist and national-liberation movements but on the contrary rally the broadest masses to the Communists. It was precisely in conditions of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems that the socialist revolution triumphed on Cuba (...).”

(<http://www.marxists.org/history/international/comintern/sino-soviet-split/cpsu/30march1963.htm>, *The Letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China*, March, 30, 1964, edition in English)

No comment. In the words of the Krushchevists, “peaceful coexistence fosters the spreading of communism and the national-liberation struggles” and the “proof” of this would Cuba’s example of a country where “a socialist revolution triumphed”. Socialist revolution in Cuba? Are they perhaps referring to the 1959 bourgeois-capitalist “revolution” by Cuban national bourgeoisie against their pro-American compradore rivals that ultimately ended up in turning Cuba in a colony of Soviet social-imperialism? Are they referring to the social-fascist rule that haunts Castroist-Guevarist Cuba until nowadays? Is this what they call “a socialist revolution”? Well, perhaps this is not as astounding as it may sound. After all, if the Soviet revisionists could qualify their imperialist war of aggression against Afghanistan as “fulfillment of socialist duties”, they can certainly also qualify Cuba’s 1959 “revolution” as “socialist”, of course. Taking them own examples, we can affirm that far from having attracted masses to communism and to national-liberation combats, their so-called “peaceful coexistence” only promoted social-fascism and Soviet neo-colonialism.

But let’s return to Soviet “anti-Maoism”. When displaying their “anti-Maoist” struggle, the Soviet revisionists tried to present their positions about the “peaceful coexistence” as being “opposite” to the ones defended by the Chinese revisionists about the same subject:

“What is behind the loud revolutionary phrases of the Chinese comrades? Disbelief (...) in the possibility of peaceful coexistence and in the victory of the proletariat in the class struggle. The struggle to prevent war unites all peace-loving forces. They differ in class composition and class interests. But they can be united by the struggle for peace, for averting war, because the atomic bomb does not draw class distinctions -- it destroys everybody within the range of its destructive action.”
(<http://www.marxists.org/history/international/comintern/sino-soviet-split/cpsu/openletter.htm>, *Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU to All Party Organizations, To All Communists of the Soviet Union*, July 14, 1963, edition in English)

With this abhorrent pacifist statement in which irreconcilable class interests (between exploiters and exploited, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and other workers) are supposedly automatically eliminated in favor of “anti-war struggle” (a situation which inevitably benefits the established power of the bourgeois class who sees proletarians abandoning their communist struggle to unite with that same bourgeoisie “for peace”, thus forgetting their historical role as the thug of the bourgeoisie). The pro-Soviet “C” P of Denmark even affirmed that the victory of world socialism was possible without world war. Soviet revisionists were depicting their Chinese rivals as being “belicist” and “in favor of a devastating war that could extinguish humanity” (on the question of war and peace, especially in the matter of nuclear war, the Soviet revisionists and the Chinese revisionists constantly accused each other of being at the service of American imperialism. With this, they tried to hide the fact that all modern revisionists without exception are ultimately at the service of U.S. imperialism through their reactionary pro-capitalist theory and practice to prevent the achievement of proletarian dictatorship, of socialism and communism). And the Maoists, on their part, willingly played their role in this masquerade, pretending that real disputes with Soviet revisionists existed by making adventurist statements like the very famous from Mao: “Imperialists are paper tigers”, in which Chinese revisionists insinuate that warmongering imperialists were no longer aggressive neither dangerous.

However, a closer look at the documents from the Maoists reveals that, in fact, they also favored opportunist “peaceful coexistence” and embraced this capitulationist “theory”. In his text “Some Points in Appraisal of the present International Situation”, Mao Zedong wrote at the time (April 1946) about the possibility of an agreement between the imperialist and socialist countries, especially between the USSR and the U.S., Britain and France. However, contrary to what Mao insinuates, that does not mean that the peoples of the countries of the capitalist-imperialist world have to accomplish an agreement within their countries with their respective exploiters and oppressors (indeed, Mao’s defense of this has much resemblance with his anti-socialist “three world theory” which was already criticized by us in previous chapters of DWM and in other articles). What does this mean? – External agreements, yes – internal agreements, no. This means that the working class in the revisionist countries cannot give up their international class struggle in favor of a compromise with the imperialists (peaceful coexistence). With the victory of the world socialist revolution, the revisionists would perish along with their own power. And so, through compromise with the imperialists, modern revisionists in power believed they could handle the struggle of the genuine Marxists-Leninists. Because of the betrayal of

the socialist world revolution by the revisionists, the division between the working class in capitalist and revisionist countries was consummated, the class struggle in each country became isolated, the working classes of each country are left to themselves, and the world imperialists have "free reign" to oppress and exploit individual nations.

Peaceful coexistence is supposed to strengthen the inner world of the socialist camp serving ("If you leave us alone to build socialism, we are sure you also leave you alone"). But proletarian internationalism is betrayed by the fact that the peaceful coexistence of the revisionist countries of the "world socialist system" strengthens the world imperialist system in such a manner that even the remote possibilities of a peaceful transition to socialism are destroyed. It completely contradicts Marxism-Leninism that peaceful coexistence between the socialist countries can pave the way for the peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism. The world socialist system can not be built without the violent world socialist revolution. This Marxist-Leninist truth is trampled by both Soviet and Chinese revisionists.

On the Meeting of Syriad, Libanese, Iraquian and Jordanian pro-Soviet revisionists entitled "On the revisionist distortions and splitting subversive activities of the Chinese leadership" (April 1964), it was declared that: "In the current era, peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition between the two different social systems is crucial for the development of the national liberation movement."

In first place, since the death of Comrade Stalin, the socialist system of the Soviet Union did not exist anymore (although two different social systems – capitalism-imperialism-revisionism and socialism - still existed as long as Albania was a socialist country of proletarian dictatorship). Thus the "peaceful coexistence" of the Soviet revisionists was only a cloak for pure capitalist coexistence between the capitalist countries and the former socialist Soviet Union where capitalism was restored. And second, the victory in the struggle of national liberation is not possible without armed revolution for the overthrow of all the inner and outer enemies of the suppressed and exploited peoples – and this entirely independent of the case if the liberation struggle would be supported by a socialist country, thus independent of peaceful co-existence between two different social systems. "Peaceful co-existence" of the Russian social imperialists was nothing else but secret diplomacy of cooperation between two superpowers which commonly exploit and oppress the peoples of the world. And the counter-revolutionary view of the revisionist "liberation struggle" of Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and Jordania was nothing but the "freedom" of decision whether their peoples should be exploited and oppressed by the Soviet imperialists or by the Chinese imperialists.

The Soviet revisionists have betrayed the transition to communism, declaring the dictatorship of the proletariat as superfluous and propagating the "state of the whole people." Comrade Stalin teaches, however: while the transition to communism in one country is carried out under the conditions of imperialist encirclement, the class struggle against external and internal enemies of the country will be exacerbated. And that class struggle can only be performed by the working class and its Bolshevik vanguard party. Comrade Stalin teaches, therefore, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is indispensable

in the period of transition to communism, namely in a country that is surrounded by imperialist powers. Instead, the Soviet revisionists have ceased the class struggle against imperialism. In the question of the transition to communism, the *Chinese* revisionists found it impossible to build communism in the conditions of imperialism. In contrast to Stalinism, they affirm that the transition to communism would be an obstacle for the destruction of imperialism on a world scale, claiming that the construction of communism would be opposed to internationalism. Allegedly, the transition to communism in “one” country would “discriminate” against other socialist countries which would be still not ripe for a transition to communism. These Chinese arguments attest to the fact that their entire way of thinking was largely effected by Trotskyism, which mistook the internal conditions of building socialism with international conditions. The Maoists denied the Stalinist theory of building communism in “one” country as a powerful lever of the socialist world revolution. And moreover, the Maoist denied even the Leninist theory of the possibility of the construction of socialism in “one” country. With other words, the Chinese revisionists did neither understand nor implement the Leninist-Stalinist theory of the socialist world revolution which relies on the construction of socialism and its transition to communism in “one” country – namely as a basis and lever of the socialist world revolution.

The difference between the Maoists and the Soviet revisionists is that the Maoists distorted the Leninist-Stalinist theory of the socialist world revolution, while the Soviet revisionists propagated it for the purpose of hiding their revisionism behind it. Finally, on the XX and XXII Congress of the CPSU, the Soviet revisionists openly abdicated the inalienability of the socialist world revolution and replaced it through the “peaceful way” towards socialism (XX Congress) and even towards communism (XXII Congress). The Leninist theory of peaceful co-existence between two different social formations is part of heaviest class-struggle, is part of the preparation of the armed socialist world revolution. Peaceful coexistence is not an end in itself. This would only lead to the prolongation of the existence of world capitalism and finally to the defeat of socialism.

There is not a “peaceful way” towards socialism or communism road while imperialism prevails in the world. However, the Soviet revisionists were of the opinion that they could build communism in “peaceful competition” between the two systems in the world (whereas the socialist camp ceased to exist after the death of comrade Stalin). The Soviet revisionists unarmed not only the working class in their own country, but also disabled the Soviet Union as a lever and base of the world socialist revolution of the world proletariat. Thus, the “communist” Program of the XXII. Congress of the “C”PSU served in fact only world imperialism and not world communism. There can be no peaceful competition - neither between capitalist states, neither between capitalist and socialist countries. As long as world imperialism exists, it never “irrevocably” loses its dominance. The world today demonstrates the core of this revisionist “theory of irrevocable victory of socialism” - which was defended at the VII World Congress of the Communist International. In 1964 there was no socialist camp anymore. There was only competition between capitalist states. In other words, Russian imperialists were trying to safeguard their domain against Chinese imperialism and so they depicted Maoists as being engaged in “separatist activities of the division.” This was the division that existed

between revisionist states. In the meantime, American imperialism has maintained its hegemony, while China had to break this control to gain supremacy. Of course, nothing of this has anything to do with socialism.

Also the social-fascist Gomulka in his text “For the unity of the communist world movement and the socialist camp”– Trybuna Ludu, June 16, 1964 makes similar remarks. In truth, peaceful Coexistence and disarmament talks cannot stop the imperialist war, but only violent armed world socialist proletarian revolution can accomplish this through the destruction of the world imperialist system. The struggle of the proletariat alone is armed class struggle - with the aim of overthrowing the domination of the world bourgeoisie and the establishment of world dictatorship of the proletariat. Instead of tackling the danger of war by the Maoist imperialist plans and policies, Gomulka attacks Marxism-Leninism. In the issue of war and peace, the Chinese and Soviet revisionism are in a single row against Marxism-Leninism, they are both against world socialist revolution – the first ones openly, the second ones in a hidden manner.

And there is more. Comrade Stalin had already noted that, since very early, the Chinese revisionists had defended opportunist and anti-socialist positions regarding various essential issues including that of “peaceful coexistence”:

“When China was liberated, Stalin expressed his doubt that the Chinese leadership might follow the Titoite course. Glancing over all the main principles of Mao Tsetung's revisionist line, in regard to all those things which he raises against Stalin, we can say without reservation that Stalin was truly a great Marxist-Leninist who foresaw correctly where China was going (...). » (Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China*, Volume II, edition in English)

“We have vigorously and unswervingly fought for the relaxation of international tension and in defense of world peace. (...) We have consistently advocated the peaceful coexistence (...), we have advocated the settlement of international disputes through negotiation, and we have opposed recourse to force.”
(<http://www.marxists.org/history/international/comintern/sino-soviet-split/cpc/oppose.htm>, *Workers of All Countries unite, Oppose our Common Enemy*, 1962, edition in English)

Here it is Chinese pacifism and opportunism at its worst. Indeed, the embracement by both Soviet and Chinese revisionists of this kind of “peace theories” (not only that of “peaceful coexistence”, but also that of “peaceful transition to socialism”, for instance) is closely related with their common rejection of proletarian dictatorship, to which armed violence and coercion is inherent. But of course, they only refuse violence and war if it is waged by the oppressed and exploited against oppressors and exploiters. If they are waged in the opposite direction, they entirely support them, indeed they are always among the main promoters of them (as we saw on Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia, Cambodia, and in many other Chinese and Soviet neo-colonies).

There are no essential differences between Chinese and Soviet revisionists in what concerns their positions relatively to “peaceful coexistence” (read: capitulation) with world capitalism-revisionism. The only true “divergences” that may have existed between them are those related not with genuine concerns for authentic Marxist-Leninist ideology, but merely those arising from rivalries between two aspirants to become imperialist superpowers – as indeed they managed to do, the Soviets before, the Chinese after. Both Soviet revisionists and Chinese Maoist revisionists supported everything and everybody to get rid of their respective rivalries – one just has to recall Mao’s alliance with the imperialist USA, the imperialists and reactionaries all over the world (Mobutu, Marcos, Franco, Salazar, Somoza, Suharto, Pinochet, etc.); and also Soviet revisionists’ alliance with all kinds of anti-communists (Mengistu, Neto, Castro, Che Guevara, Machel, the Argentinean fascist generals, etc.).

With their adoption of the opportunist theories of “peaceful transition”, Soviet revisionists and Chinese revisionists aimed at accomplishing two purposes. The first purpose was to keep world proletarians, workers and the other exploited and oppressed classes away from armed anti-imperialist struggle, because “that will anger the imperialists and can cause a world war” and because “we cannot tolerate the use of violence” (knowing very well that without violence the defeat of imperialism is impossible). This objective is crucial to Soviet and Chinese revisionists because of their plans of becoming themselves imperialist superpowers. With such “arguments”, they are preparing the grounds for convincing world toilers to put down the fight for their liberation from imperialist bondage, thus eternally perpetuating it.

The second purpose they try to fulfill is to use the “necessity of peaceful coexistence” as a justification to their obvious allowance of Western imperialist penetration in their respective countries. This because both Soviet and Chinese revisionists believed they could use the willingness of their Western imperialist rivals to penetrate their countries as something that could foster their objectives of becoming imperialist superpowers. But this would at least partially destroy the “socialist” and “red” cloaks that they were still trying to maintain to deceive world laborers about their true nature and aims in order to deviate them from anti-imperialist and pro-socialist liberation struggle. So, they justified this by affirming that “socialism implies that we must have good and peaceful relations with the entire world”. However, to Soviet bourgeois-revisionist class these “good and peaceful relations” coasted dearly, as Western imperialist penetration eventually led to the disappearance of Soviet Union as an imperialist superpower and as a single state. In the early 70’s, comrade Enver wisely predicted that:

“It (American Imperialism) will exploit the Soviet Union, will draw fabulous profits from it, which will serve to strengthen its world empire. Besides this, the introduction of American capital into the Soviet Union will cause even the smallest remnants of the victories of the Great October Socialist Revolution to be eliminated very quickly, will bring about the dismantling of the Soviet Union as a union of republics. This is the objective of American imperialism: to destroy the Soviet Union as a dangerous rival capitalist power. The «wiseacres» will say: «This will be difficult to achieve». On the contrary, this is easily achieved when you come off the

rails of Marxism-Leninism.” (Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China, Volume II*, Tirana, edition in English)

And it was also comrade Enver who revealed that Chinese revisionists were also doing the same. Referring to the times when “Sino-Soviet split” began, he states:

“ (...) in the conditions of the "peaceful coexistence" between the United States of America and the Soviet Union, wealthy America could assist restoration and advance of the whole world. It was the same line which Tito advocated and applied in Yugoslavia, which had opened the doors of that country to American aid, credit and capital. It was the same desire, which Mao Zedong and other Maoist leaders had to build up China with American aid, but which the different circumstances and events had hindered up to that stage.

And the Soviet Union cannot escape American aid and the aid from the other Western countries any more than the Titoites, or today the Maoists can escape them.” (Enver Hoxha, *Eurocommunism is Anti-communism*, Tirana 1980, edition in English)

However, the Chinese revisionists were able to avoid that what happened with Soviet revisionists occurred also with them by adopting a very simple tactic: while taking advantage of Western imperialist penetration of capital, Chinese state monopolist bourgeois class always kept and continues to keep the key industries and economic sectors firmly in its hands.

Concluding, the pretense “criticisms concerning Maoist positions about peaceful coexistence” made by the Soviet revisionists are a fake to mislead world workers in benefit of their bourgeois-capitalist-imperialist and anti-socialist interests and purposes. We will further develop this last issue in the final remarks of this sub-chapter.

2.1.3 – On Peaceful Transition to Socialism

We will now analyze the supposed “divergences” between Soviet and Chinese revisionists concerning the reactionary so-called “peaceful transition to socialism”, something which is still related with the issue of “peaceful coexistence” that we studied in last sub-chapter. Once more, we will see that Soviet imperialists-revisionists’ supposed “ideological disagreements with Maoism” are a fake. Their only true “disagreement” with Maoism was their fear that Maoist branch of revisionism (representing the interests of Chinese bourgeois class in search of imperialist ascension) could surpass the influence of their own.

The refusal of revolutionary violence and of the revolutionary use of coercive force has been a common trait to all kinds of revisionist, reformist and opportunist theories which

try to keep proletarians and workers under wage slavagist bondage forever. In face of this, Khrushchevist revisionists could not be an exception.

In a Soviet text on 28 and 29 April, 1964, the International Declaration of 1957 is quoted. The Soviet revisionists tried to put all the parties embracing the “peaceful path of socialist revolution.” The Declaration of 1957 says that “if the exploiting classes resort to violence against people, another possibility should be considered, i.e the non-peaceful transition to socialism”.

In this sentence, the word "if" fully contradicts Marxism-Leninism. Any exploitation is nothing but the violence of a class against another. The statement avoids the term "violent socialist revolution." This expression was used by all the classics of Marxism-Leninism and in all revolutionary programs. Instead, we have the passive capitulationist expression "if".

A revolution against the exploiting and oppressive classes is always violent. There were no exploited and oppressed classes in history who have been freed by peaceful means of their exploiters' claws. History is the history of class struggle. Thus, there is no historical transition to socialism without class struggle. And the struggle of the working class can naturally lead to the victory over the capitalist exploiters only through armed violent means. The class struggle aims at the violent destruction of the domination of one class by the forced creation of the state of another class.

Even a strong world socialist system cannot eliminate peacefully the violence of the exploiting classes. Exploitation is the nature of a crime committed by some men against other men. Who affirms that “peaceful” means can replace violent ones in the accomplishment of socialist revolution and of proletarian dictatorship can only be or an exploiter or a lackey of the exploiters - but in any case, he/she is not a communist! Even in the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin, there could be no peace of classes because capitalism still existed in the world. That is why Lenin and Stalin taught the necessity of class struggle under socialism. However, the Soviet revisionists were of the opinion that it is possible to leave the path of violent class struggle with the help of "peaceful coexistence." We, Stalinists-Hoxhaists, know that we cannot renounce to revolutionary violence and that peace of classes is impossible while there are still exploitative and oppressive classes in the world. The 1957 Declaration dodged this Marxist-Leninist theory. Therefore, the 1957 Declaration is undoubtedly a purely revisionist statement on the question of revolutionary violence and therefore on the question of the transition to socialism. It was heavily influenced by the revisionist XX Congress of the “C”PSU. And every Marxist-Leninist knows that the XX “C”PSU Congress had abandoned the path of Marxism-Leninism and had embraced the path of capitalist restoration and social-imperialist policy.

The rejection of revolutionary violence as an indispensable instrument of the proletarian dictatorship to defeat bourgeois-capitalist-imperialist forces and to accomplish socialism is a crucial characteristic of Soviet revisionism (and, as we will see, also of Chinese Maoist revisionism). In fact, this is also closely related with its rejection of proletarian

dictatorship, which cannot exist without the systematic use of revolutionary force and violence. To refuse revolutionary armed violence inevitably means to refuse proletarian dictatorship whose embracement as indispensable is, as comrade Lenin once affirmed, one of the main things which distinguish reformists and opportunists from authentic communists. Of course, the proletarian dictatorship is not only some kind of abstract ideological victory over the bourgeoisie. No. The proletarian dictatorship can only grant the edification of socialism and the “*superior organization of the productive work*” (Lenin) through the effective elimination of the imperialist-capitalist order. Until the day that communist stateless, classless and propertyless society is ensured and that the danger of capitalist restoration is totally surpassed is always necessary to strengthen the proletarian dictatorship in order to smash the bourgeoisie, the other exploitative and oppressive classes and to totally destroy the foundations of the wage slavagist socio-economical system. It’s crystal clear that this process cannot advance without the use of revolutionary force and violence by the workers under proletarian leadership against reactionary forces:

“The scientific concept of dictatorship means nothing more nor less than completely unrestricted power, absolutely unimpeded by laws or regulations and resting directly on the use of force.” (Lenin, cited by Stalin in *The Questions of Leninism*, 1926, edition in English)

To affirm the contrary means to defend capitulationism and anti-communism, it means to defend the Khrushchevist thesis according to which “*socialism is irreversible*”. This thesis only defends imperialist-capitalist class interests because it weakens the proletarian dictatorship and permits the penetration of bourgeois influences inside communists’ ranks.

We, Stalinists-Hoxhaists, know that revolutionary proletarian armed violence is an universal law of class struggle, it is absolutely and indisputably necessary. Indeed, more than necessary, it is positive because it becomes the expression of the proletarian dictatorship whose aim is to totally destroy the very foundations of the capitalist-imperialist system and of bourgeois-reactionary influences and dominance. The refusal of both revolutionary violence and of proletarian dictatorship was justified by the Soviet revisionists as being needed to prevent “repression like that which occurred under Stalin”. But of course there was repression under comrade Stalin! Indeed, the situation found by comrade Stalin and by the other Soviet Marxists-Leninists right after comrade Lenin’s death is one of the best examples of how revolutionary violence and proletarian dictatorship are indeed the only manner to successfully accomplish socialist construction.

In truth, by the time when comrade Stalin became the leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevist) – CPSU (B), the Russian bourgeoisie was still very powerful and was far from being eliminated. Even many members of the party were heavily influenced by the old feudal-capitalist ideology. In these conditions, proletarian armed repression and coercion was desperately needed, even because only through the exercise of revolutionary armed force and violence the proletariat learns to defeat the bourgeoisie and to build a socialist and later communist society. The truth is that the

proletarian dictatorship implies bloody clashes between the revolutionary and the reactionary forces; it implies implacable combats between the old exploitative and oppressive classes and the formerly exploited and oppressed classes that are now under the leadership of their communist proletarian party vanguard; it implies the depriving of the former exploiters of their material and socio-economic basis of dominion through the complete and quick expropriation and collectivization of the means of production in favor of the proletariat and the other working exploited and oppressed classes, it implies the establishment of a planned centralized economy, it presupposes an indomitable and ferocious class struggle against everything related with the old bourgeois-capitalist repressive system and of course, the proletarian dictatorship and its inherent revolutionary violence also necessarily involve the physical elimination of all kinds of anti-communist opponents. As Comrade Lenin stated:

“(...) this period (the dictatorship of the proletariat) inevitably is a period of an unprecedentedly violent class struggle in unprecedentedly acute forms, and, consequently, during this period the state must inevitably be a state that is democratic in a new way (for the proletariat and the propertyless in general) and dictatorial in a new way (against the bourgeoisie).” (Lenin, *The State and the Revolution, Collected Works*, pages 381-492, 1918, edition in English)

Comrade Enver always understood the true objectives behind the defense of this “peaceful transition” and he clearly affirmed:

“The laboring masses, guided by the local proletariat headed by the communist party and in alliance with all the proletariat of the world, should make life impossible for imperialism, should crush its fighting and economic potential, should wrest from its hands its economic and political power and proceed to the destruction of the old power and the establishment of the new power of the people. Will they do this by violence or by the peaceful parliamentary road?”

This question has been clear and it was not necessary for Comrade Khrushchev to confuse it in the 20th Congress, and do so in such a way as to please the opportunists. Why was it necessary to resort to so many parodies of Lenin's clear theses and the October Socialist Revolution? The Party of Labor of Albania is quite clear about and does not shift from Lenin's teachings on this matter. So far, no people, no proletariat and no communist or workers' party has assumed power without bloodshed and without violence.

It is incorrect for some comrades to claim that they assumed power without bloodshed [like the Czechoslovak revisionists did – note of the Comintern (SH)], for they forget that the glorious Soviet Army shed streams of blood for them during the Second World War. Our Party thinks that, in this matter, we should be prepared and prepared well for both eventualities, especially, for taking power by violence, for if we are well prepared for this eventuality, the other eventuality has more chance of success. The bourgeoisie may allow you to sing psalms, but then it deals you a fascist blow to the head and crushes you because you have not trained the

necessary cadres to attack, nor done illegal work, you have not prepared a place where you can be protected and still work, nor the means with which to fight. We should forestall this tragic eventuality.” (PLA, *The Party of Labor of Albania in Battle with Modern revisionism, Speech delivered at the Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow on Nov. 16, 1960*, 1972, edition in English)

“The line and program which Khrushchev presented at the 20th Congress of the CPSU constituted not only the line of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, but also the line of undermining the revolution and of the subjection of the peoples to imperialism and the working class to the bourgeoisie. The Khrushchevites preached that at the present stage, the main road of transition to socialism was the peaceful road. They advised the communist parties to follow the policy of class conciliation and collaboration with social-democracy and other political forces of the bourgeoisie. This line assisted the attainment of those objectives for which imperialism and capital had long been fighting with every means, including arms and ideological diversion. It opened broad roads to bourgeois reformism and gave capital the possibility to manoeuvre in the difficult economic, political and military situation created for it after the Second World War. This is the explanation for all that great publicity which the bourgeoisie gave the 20th Congress of the CPSU all around the world and which called Khrushchev "a man of peace" who "understands the situation", unlike Stalin who was for "communist orthodoxy", "incompatibility with the capitalist world", etc. With their preachings of the peaceful road to socialism, the Khrushchevites sought to impede the communists and the revolutionaries of the world from preparing for and carrying out the revolution and wanted them to reduce all their work to propaganda, to debates and electoral manoeuvres, to trade-union demonstrations and day-today demands.

This was the typical social-democratic line which Lenin had fought so fiercely and the October Revolution had overthrown. The Khrushchevite views, which were borrowed from the arsenal of the chiefs of the Second International, aroused dangerous illusions and discredited the very idea of the revolution. They did not prepare the working class and the working masses to be vigilant and to oppose the bourgeois violence, but urged them to remain submissively at the mercy of the bourgeoisie. This was also proved in the events in Indonesia and Chile, etc., with the communists and peoples of those countries paying very dearly for the revisionist illusions about the peaceful road to socialism.” (Enver Hoxha, *Eurocommunism is Anti-communism*, Tirana 1980, edition in English)

In his book “Imperialism and the Revolution”, comrade Enver denounced the entire reformist talking about the “peaceful road” by stating:

“They (Soviet revisionists) also declared that the proletarian revolution had allegedly entered a new stage, that it could triumph also in ways other than the seizure of state power by the proletariat through violence. According to them, state

power could be taken in peaceful, parliamentary and democratic ways, through reforms.

The revolution (...) cannot triumph on the peaceful road. (...) the bourgeoisie never surrenders its power voluntarily. The history of the international workers' and communist movement, of the development of revolutions and the victories of the working class in a number of former socialist countries, and in our socialist country, shows that up till now revolutions have triumphed only through armed insurrection.” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

These principled and Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist positions from comrade Enver were of extreme importance to world exploited and oppressed classes which were being poisoned by revisionist “peaceful venom”. Indeed, Soviet revisionists used this to invent one more “ideological divergence” with Chinese revisionists, to fabricate one more false episode of their supposed “anti-Maoism”:

“In April 1960 the Chinese comrades openly revealed their disagreements with the-world communist movement by publishing the collection of articles "Long Live Leninism!" This collection, made up, in the main, of distorted, truncated and incorrectly interpreted passages from well-known works of Lenin, contained propositions directed, in substance, against the fundamentals of the Declaration of the Moscow Meeting of 1957, which was signed on behalf of the CPC by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, against the (...) recognition of the peaceful (...) road of development of socialist revolution. » (<http://www.marxists.org/history/international/comintern/sino-soviet-split/cpsu/openletter.htm>, *Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU to All Party Organizations, To All Communists of the Soviet Union*, July 14, 1963, edition in English)

Soviet revisionists tried to depict Maoists as the “orthodox dogmatists” who would not allow the “peaceful road” to socialism, contrary to them, who would be very pluralist (in the bourgeois sense of the word) and would even permit “various possible roads to socialism” (at the beginning of their “career”, the Soviet revisionists even treacherously used to affirm that “we recognize both peaceful and non-peaceful path to socialism.” But their assertion is a fake, because from the moment they spread the lie that it is possible for the bourgeoisie and the other exploitative and oppressive classes to surrender power voluntarily, they are automatically not only preventing proletarians from concentrating in preparing to take power violently and to implement their class dictatorship, but also to deviate laboring classes from a very simple universal law of class struggle: genuine proletarian dictatorship and authentic socialist revolution and construction are not possible without the smashing of the bourgeois, exploitative and oppressive classes by the revolutionary armed violence of the proletariat and the other exploited and oppressed working classes. Everything else is anti-communist garbage intended to perpetuate wage slavery and capitalist-imperialist bondage).

On their part, at the time, Maoists tried to present themselves as “defenders of revolutionary force and violence” in order to appear as “true pure Marxists-Leninists”. This was a very wise tactic because Khrushchevist theory of “peaceful road to socialism” was so obviously revisionist and capitulationist that even parties sympathetic with the Khrushchevist line hesitated in embracing it, even because this embracement would dramatically decrease their credibility in front of the toiling masses and those would diminish their capacity to mislead them about their true anti-socialist nature. Therefore, the appearing of Chinese revisionists as “condemning Soviet defense of peaceful road to socialism” conquered many honest workers who didn’t understood that not only that this “condemnation” was false (because Maoists had always defended “peaceful paths” in their efforts to paralyze the struggle of Chinese laborers for a true socialist construction in China and against the bourgeois-capitalist dictatorship that Maoists were implementing), but also that the referred “condemnation” was one more fabrication to make a sterile “debate” between two types of revisionisms (defending the respective interests of their bourgeois classes against rivals) look like a vivid “life and death struggle between revisionism and Marxism-Leninism”.

Indeed, just like Soviet revisionists, also Maoists hold obviously opportunistic and anti-communist views regarding the necessity of revolutionary violence. Comrade Enver remarked that:

“(…) openly taking counterrevolutionaries under his protection, Mao Tsetung stated: «We should kill none and arrest very few... They are not to be arrested by the public security bureaus, prosecuted by the procuratorial organs or tried by the law courts. Well over ninety out of every hundred of these counterrevolutionaries should be dealt with in this way». Reasoning as a sophist, Mao Tsetung says that the execution of counterrevolutionaries does no good, that such an action allegedly hinders production, the scientific level of the country, and will give us a bad name in the world, etc., that if one counterrevolutionary is liquidated, «we would have to compare his case with that of a second, of a third, and so on, and then many heads would begin to roll. .. once a head is chopped off it can't be restored, nor can it grow again as chives do, after being cut». As a result of these anti-Marxist concepts about contradictions, about classes, and their role in revolution that «Mao Tsetung thought» advocates, China never proceeded on the correct road of socialist construction.” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

Moreover, if we analyze attentively the Maoist documents and texts, we will find that they affirm:

“If we have adopted the policy of the struggle in favor of the union towards the national bourgeoisie, that’s mainly with the purpose of educating the national bourgeoisie. (...) and this permits that our bourgeois-democratic revolution can be directly transformed into a socialist and proletarian revolution through peaceful means.” (Liou Chao Chi, *Rapport politique du Comité central du Parti communiste*

chinois au VIIIe Congrès national du PCC, Pékin, 1956, translated from French language)

Reeducation of the bourgeoisie?!!! The bourgeoisie doesn't exist to be educated! It exists to be exterminated by the proletariat through revolutionary armed violence and coercive force! Comrade Lenin once said that the great problems of humanity were always solved through violence and this is foremost applicable to the elimination of the bourgeoisie, to the annihilation of the capitalist system and to the period of transition to and construction of socialism and communism.

This capitulationism idea is closely related with the "theory" of the "peaceful transition to socialism » through bourgeois means; it is linked not only with the Eurocommunist and reformist idea of "humanizing" and "educating" capitalism but also with Boukharinist « theories », which can be considered as being among the ideological antecessors of Soviet / Khrushchevist revisionism. As comrade Stalin once said:

“ Boukharin's greatest mistake is that he concedes that the koulaks and other bourgeois elements (...) can be integrated within socialism. This theory is a total absurd! The capitalists, the kulaks, the representatives of the foreign imperialists can be integrated in socialist society, according to Boukharin. We certainly don't want this kind of “socialism”. We will not adhere to Boukharin's conceptions. We, Marxist-Leninists, we think that there are irreconcilable differences between the capitalists and the proletariat. This is the base of the Marxist theory of the class struggle. But the Boukharinist theory about the peaceful integration of the capitalist elements within socialism contradicts the most basic Marxist principles, it contradicts the inevitable opposition between the exploiters and the exploited because the exploiters are included within socialist system. » (Stalin, *The questions of Leninism II*, 1931, translated from French language)

In fact, both Soviet revisionism and Maoist revisionism are influenced by and adopted Bourkharinist theories, and this is particularly clear in their positions relatively to « peaceful transition to socialism », in which they defend to be possible that the bourgeoisie and the other exploitative and oppressed classes can voluntarily and peacefully « integrate » into socialism, thus centered on the idea of the « civilized » and “peaceful” integration and inclusion of bourgeois-capitalist elements within socialism, it is based on the idea of the “joint government” of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in order to undermine and turn impossible the construction of socialism through capitulation to bourgeois and non-proletarian forces, influences and elements. This was one of the main purposes of the defense made by both Soviet and Chinese revisionists of the supposed « peaceful transition to socialism ». Indeed, just like we explained in the other DWM, in practice, the Maoists always applied this pro-bourgeois strategy even during the times they attempted to appear as «anti-Khrushchevist and anti-revisionist defenders of revolutionary violence».

2.1.4 – Final Remarks

Concluding, the supposed “irreconcilable ideological differences” between Soviet revisionism and Chinese revisionism upon which Soviet alleged “anti-Maoism” would be based are a mere fake. We will still provide one more example: the Soviet revisionists’ reaction to Maoist so-called “Cultural Revolution”. This « Cultural Revolution », its character and purposes were already analyzed by us in the previous DWM and in other texts. It was a mere combat between different factions of the Chinese bourgeoisie that competed among them for absolute power within the party and the state in order to better fulfill their specific exploitative and oppressive class interests. Comrade Enver once affirmed about Maoist « Great Cultural Proletarian Revolution » that:

“(...) was neither a revolution, nor great, nor cultural, and in particular, not in the least proletarian.” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

And of course, its anti-communist nature was so evident that Soviet revisionists would never lose this opportunity to play the role of « defenders of true Marxism-Leninism against Chinese deviations ». Bourgeois scholars noted the reactions and attitudes of Soviet revisionists at the time and affirmed that:

«Pravda commented, “Questions arise: (...) Why is this ‘proletarian’ movement proceeding without any participation of the working class of China? (...) Where is the working class? Where in this thing are the party and government organs (...) ? (...) a revolution should be led by workers and the party. Not one country, not one communist party, can escape the growing and in the end decisive role of the working class, chosen by history to lead, organize, and bring about the liquidation of class society... Another lengthy Pravda article castigated the Chinese for seeking revolutionary leadership “either in the army, or in student youth, or in lumpen proletarian, declassé elements, or in the peasantry... but not in the working class.” (Elizabeth McGuire, *China, the Fun House Mirror: Soviet Reactions to the Chinese Cultural Revolution 1966-1969*, University of California, Berkeley, edition in English)

In first place, we must state that it is indeed true that Chinese Maoist revisionists always denied the historical role of the proletariat and of its party as the leadership of the socialist revolution. We reflected about this in the others DWM. But in spite of this, what an interesting sudden concern of the Soviet revisionists about the necessity of having the working class (the proletariat) and its vanguard party leading a genuine socialist revolution! This is indeed true and it constitutes an universal principle of Marxism-Leninism. However, contrary to what appearances may suggest, the Soviet revisionists were not in the least worried about denouncing and condemning the revisionist deviations and anti-proletarian garbage of the Maoists, even because Soviet revisionists were always – just like the Maoist revisionists - among those who denied the necessity of working class’ party leadership in the revolution in the most blatant manners, reaching the point of even replacing it with the « party of the entire people » (read: of the dictatorship of the new bourgeois class):

«In the Soviet Union too, the Communist Party of Lenin and Stalin has been liquidated. It is true that the party there did not change its name, as occurred in Yugoslavia, but it was stripped of its revolutionary essence and spirit. The role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union altered and its work for the strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist ideology was replaced with the distortion of the Marxist-Leninist theory, under different disguises, through empty phraseology and demagoguery. The political organization of the party, like the army, the police and the other organs of the dictatorship of the new bourgeoisie, was transformed into an organization to oppress the masses, not to mention the fact that it also became the bearer of the ideology and policy of their oppression and exploitation. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union degraded, was weakened and became a "party of the entire people", that is, no longer the vanguard party of the working class, which carries forward the revolution and builds socialism, but a party of the new revisionist bourgeoisie, which causes the degeneration of socialism and carries forward the restoration of capitalism.» (Enver Hoxha, *Eurocommunism is Anti-communism*, Tirana 1980, edition in English)

“The party was stripped of its attributes as the vanguard of the working class, as the sole political leading force of the state and society, and was transformed into a party dominated by the apparatchiki and the KGB. The Soviet revisionists called their party the "party of the entire people" and reduced it to such a condition that it could no longer be the party of the working class, but the party of the new Soviet bourgeoisie.” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

And comrade Enver didn't fail to notice the similarities between Soviet and Chinese revisionists about this matter in that both deny the leading role of the working class and of its party in the revolution:

“The Soviet revisionists do not deny the leading role of the working class in words, while they have liquidated it in practice, because they have deprived this class of any possibility to lead. But even in theory they eliminate this role, in as much as they defend the ill-famed theory of "the party and state of the entire people". The Chinese revisionists, as the pragmatists they are, sometimes put the peasantry, sometimes the army, sometimes the pupils and students, etc., which ever suits the occasion, at the head of the revolution. The Party of Labour of Albania resolutely defends the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the working class constitutes the decisive force in the development of society, the leading force for the revolutionary transformation of the world, for the construction of socialist and communist society.” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

“It must be re-emphasized that Mao (...) was not in agreement with the leading, hegemonic role of the working class.” (Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China, Volume II*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

It is crystal clear that both Soviet and Chinese revisionists point to the anti-socialist deviations of each other only to hide their own revisionism. And of course, the denial of the role of leadership of the working class and its party by opportunists of all kinds is not by chance. They want to prevent the accomplishment of socialism, because it is impossible to achieve a successful socialist revolution without the leadership of the working class and of its vanguard party:

“(...) the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the ideology of the proletariat, embodied in the Communist Party, today the Party of Labor, the vanguard of the working class, was the leadership of the (Albanian) revolution. That is why we triumphed not only in the National Liberation War but also in the construction of socialism.” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

The truth is that with their phony “profound ideological divergences”, both Soviet revisionism and Chinese Maoist revisionism put in practice a game of misleading, because both of them have the same anti-communist nature and aims. The question of Chinese opportunism in the struggle against modern revisionism is nothing more than strengthening the forces of modern revisionism - is an hidden anti-Stalinist and counter-revolutionary position. Otherwise, the Soviet revisionists would not have differed between hostile attitude toward the PLA and a friendly attitude to the Chinese revisionists. In the first stage of disagreements with the “C”P of China, the “C”PSU was convinced that they could be overcome and resolved amicably (if the “C”P China would tolerate the dominance of Soviet revisionism within the world communist movement, then, in return, the Soviet revisionists would tolerate an exceptional and privileged position of the Chinese revisionists within the world communist movement – thus combining their domination with the dominance of the Chinese revisionists as associate “junior partners” of the Soviet revisionists).

When the anti-communist program of the Soviet revisionists was decided on the XXII Congress of the “C”PSU, there were heavy simultaneous attacks against comrade Enver Hoxha and PLA released on the same XXII. Congress - on one side - and reconciliation with the Chinese revisionists – on the other side. This proves that the PLA was the first and only party then communist world movement that criticized modern revisionism on the correct basis of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, whereas the Chinese revisionists always continued with their opportunist reconciliationist positions between Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism and anti-Stalinism of the Soviet revisionists. Chinese revisionism never really struggled against Soviet revisionism on genuine basis of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism. In other words, the Chinese revisionists never supported the correct line of the PLA. The Maoists and the Soviet revisionists spread the lie that Albania had allegedly “parroted” Maoism. The truth is that the PLA never deviated from Marxism-Leninism until the death of Comrade Enver Hoxha, whereas the Maoists tried to enslave Albania to revisionist and social-imperialist China. But this attempt failed completely – just like before them the Soviet revisionists also failed to enslave Albania to revisionist and social-imperialist Russia. And also Titoite enslavement of Albania failed thanks to comrade Enver Hoxha.

The "anti-Maoism" of the Soviet revisionists was to hide their own betrayal of proletarian internationalism behind the "defence" of comrade Lenin. The "anti-Soviet revisionism" of the Chinese revisionists was to hide their own betrayal of proletarian internationalism behind the "defence" of comrade Stalin. Proponents of proletarian internationalism were only the Albanian communists, against which the Soviet revisionists and Maoists acted together.

They fabricated and promoted false "disagreements", "anti-revisionist slogans" and "truly Marxist-Leninist" pretenses in order to achieve two simultaneous purposes:

1 – To prevent the spreading of authentic proletarian communist ideology and to replace the struggle between it and revisionism by a fake "debate" between two branches of revisionism. Maoists themselves once made an affirmation that entirely suits them: "The revisionists are producing their own opposites and will eventually be buried by them. This is an inexorable law." However, it is an inexorable law that also the revisionists have produced neo-revisionists who try to save the revisionists from being buried. Consequently: the debate between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism was paralyzed by the phony "debate" between Soviet and Chinese revisionism. That is one of the crucial points of the betrayal of the Maoists.

With all this, they aimed at preventing the complete annihilation of global wage slavagist capitalist-imperialist system, thus safeguarding that system and the bourgeois class which dominates it from socialist revolution through keeping world proletarians, workers and other exploited and oppressed classes away from Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism - the only authentically communist and proletarian ideology whose theory and practice can ensure their total and definitive liberation from wage slavery and world bourgeois-capitalist-revisionist-imperialist bondage through successful world armed socialist revolution, global violent proletarian dictatorship, world socialism and world communism - and which, for this reason, was always the main target of both Soviet and Chinese revisionists (and of all other revisionists, neo-revisionists and anti-communists, for that matter). Besides their cloaks of "irreconcilable dispute", Maoist / Chinese revisionism allowed Soviet revisionism to revive:

"Revisionism survived with its ability to "retransform itself" by replacing its old "Marxist-Leninist" mask of the "four heads" through a new one, including the mask of "Hoxhaism" (neo-revisionism). At the international level this happened unavoidably after the Soviet revisionism had lost its international leadership. A new revisionist ideology had to be installed, to maintain the international influence of revisionism, thus more suitable to paralyze the advanced development of the Communist World Movement. And the growing influence of Maoism appeared in the form of the apposition of the portrait of Mao in the rank of the Classics of Marxism-Leninism. This demonstrates the dangerous influence of Maoism in the initial phase of the development of the new Marxist-Leninist parties in many countries of the world. This molting of revisionism succeeded mainly in the form of Maoism. And the struggle for the elimination of the Mao portrait and its exchange

through the portrait of comrade Enver Hoxha (as the only genuine 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism) reflects the essence of the further development of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement towards our new Stalinist-Hoxhaist World Movement.

If we look at the leading influence of Maoism and other revisionist international influences (eg, in Russia today), it is clear that the Soviet revisionism, even if it was already eliminated as a leading international center, was revived by means of Maoism. (...) Maoism proved to be able to resurrect revisionism globally.” [General-Line of the Comintern (SH), *Historical teachings of the Comintern and of the Communist World Movement*, chapter VIII, 2011, edition in English]

Particularly concerning Soviet capitalists-revisionists, they made a big campaign about unmasking the revisionist roots of Maoism - but only for the reason to hide their own revisionism, social-fascism, social-imperialism, anti-communism and bourgeois nature behind it (characteristics they fully share with Chinese Maoist revisionists). They even insisted in equating anti-Sovietism with anti-communism, something which had been true during the times of socialist construction in Bolshevist Soviet Union of comrades Lenin and Stalin, but which ceased to be so after revisionist takeover and capitalist-imperialist restoration in Soviet Union.

The so-called criticism of the Soviet revisionists against Maoism was much more than a mere national attack, as some put it. The "anti-Maoism" of Soviet revisionists always "recognizes" a non-existent "socialist" China whose "development" was only "affected" by the Chinese leaders who were supposedly involved in a "corrupt" and "wrong" performance (defense of China before 1958, attacks against China after 1958 - China's defense as a revisionist country which faithfully followed Soviet revisionism and social-imperialism; attacks against China for wanting to break with the revisionist SU in order to build its own revisionist and social-imperialist camp and sphere of influence. Soviet revisionists always considered that bourgeois-capitalist China has been "socialist" in both words and deeds. And that is exactly in what their false "anti-Maoist" fundamentally differs from the authentic anti-Maoism of comrade Enver Hoxha and of the Marxist-Leninist world movement, which correctly considered that revisionist China and so-called "Mao Zedong thought" had never anything to do with Marxism-Leninism, neither with socialism!

In fact, the true reason and target of their anti-Maoist attack was not Maoism (as we shown, it is the same bourgeois ideology as their own) but with this Marxism-Leninism was aimed - especially against comrade Enver Hoxha. In this, they counted with the help of their puppet anti-communist parties in countries like France, Italy, Finland, England, Ceylon, Poland, Austria, Czechoslovakia, India, USA, Luxembourg, Portugal, Costa Rica, Australia, Chile, Spain, Uruguay, Belgium, Turkey, Mongolia, Hungary, Argentina, Brazil, Japan, South Africa, Iran, Syria, Denmark, etc. The Soviet revisionists and their lackeys worldwide feared to lose their dominant influence (what is affirmed in this sub-chapter about Soviet revisionists' false "anti-Maoism" is also entirely applicable to their lackeys around the world). They could not openly attack Marxism-Leninism for do not losing their "communist" and even "Leninist" mask. Therefore, this attack could only be

launched indirectly against Maoism. This is the whole truth!!! We had to explain this and to conclude this because it is an all-round method. It can be also implemented against our ideology of Stalinism-Hoxhaism, and so to denounce it is undoubtedly a very important ideological weapon of defending the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism.

2 – To weaken and discredit an imperialist rival of great dimensions that could endanger each one's social-imperialist expansion and search for markets, workforce and resources with the goal of profit maximization.

The main task of the Comintern (SH) in this particular chapter of DWM IV is the defense of Stalinism-Hoxhaism by means of unmasking the international double play between both the revisionist ideology of Maoism and the pseudo-"anti-Maoism" of the Soviet revisionists. After the death of comrade Stalin, the international tactics of the modern revisionists was mainly based on this sham maneuver between the Soviet revisionist and Chinese revisionist camp as the two, open and hidden, anti-Stalinist world camps. Both the Soviet and Chinese camps were revisionist camps. They did not only serve the interests of the national bourgeoisie in Russia and China, but moreover, they served the world bourgeoisie in its struggle against the communist world movement. The so called "Sino-Soviet-Split" was as a bulwark against the socialist world revolution and the international spreading of world communism, in general, and against comrade Enver Hoxha, the PLA and the single socialist Albania, in particular. However, Hoxhaism teaches that the communist world movement must smash *all* the revisionist camps without exception. We can never share our principles with revisionists, and we can not defend the one revisionist camp for the purpose to struggle against another revisionist camp. It is impossible to defeat Soviet revisionism without the defeat of Chinese revisionism, and vice versa, it is also impossible to defeat Maoism without defeat of Soviet revisionism.

The struggle against revisionism is simultaneously a differentiated and manifold task: firstly we unmask the single camps of revisionism (in particular), and secondly we unmask their interactions against the international unity of the communist world movement; or with other words: we must analyze, unmask and smash the interdependence of both, national and international actions and "theories" of the revisionists, and both the open and hidden actions and "theories" of the revisionists. The revisionists are both, lackeys of the national bourgeoisie and lackeys of the world bourgeoisie in the struggle against the proletariat in the single countries (in particular), and against the world proletariat on a global scale (in general). Hoxhaism teaches that the unity of the communist world movement can be defended not other than by smashing the *concerted action* of hidden and open revisionism. This concerted action was disguised with the so called "Sino-Soviet-Conflict", namely for the only purpose to dupe and liquidate the communist world movement with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head. Thus, the so-called "Sino-Soviet-Split" was a feigned "controversy" in the struggle against the unity of the communist world movement with comrade Stalin at the head.

The term "SINO-SOVIET SPLIT" was only a "pseudo-split", a mock battle, for deceiving the communist world movement and the world proletariat. **The so-called false**

“Sino-Soviet split” was the revisionist double play of splitting the communist world movement. The split of the revisionist camp was necessary for the splitting and liquidation of the Stalinist movement. The so called “Sino-Soviet split” was a double play of the world bourgeoisie to split and liquidate the world communist world movement by forcing the true communists to support either the Soviet or Chinese revisionist world camp. However, the Stalinist-Hoxhaists decided neither to take side of the *hidden* anti-Stalinist Maoists nor to take side of the *open* anti-Stalinist Soviet revisionists and unmasked and combated this revisionist maneuver victoriously on the basis of Stalinism-Hoxhaism.

The world bourgeoisie wanted always to “prove” that “the communist world movement will degenerate by itself and that it would be allegedly “too weak” of coming to power (see: liquidationism of Trotsky: “self-fulfillment of the law of communist self-destruction”; or Mao: “law of destruction-construction-destruction” - “split-unity-split”). These are all “theories” of so called “self-liquidationism” of communism and its movement. The communist world movement can only lose its danger for the world bourgeoisie if it is completely in the hands of the revisionist, no matter if the different revisionist branches share this leadership or not.

In truth, both Soviet-revisionism and Maoism are liquidationist and capitulationist “theories” which aimed to replace the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism by bourgeois ideology. All these liquidationist “theories” were already created since the 7th World Congress of the Comintern – namely to dispense of our own communist organizations and ideology in favor of the unity front with the bourgeoisie. The liquidators of today categorically deny the existence of Stalinism-Hoxhaism, because it is the main hindrance for them to liquidate Marxism-Leninism. The neo-revisionists are still unable to liquidate the weapon of Stalinism-Hoxhaism, and that's why they call it helplessly “a figment of imaginations”. However! Earlier or later the neo-revisionist liquidators will try to succeed with the implementation of the old example of the Sino-Soviet double play between open anti-Stalinism and hidden anti-Stalinism. They will learn to master the double play of open anti-Hoxhaism and hidden anti-Hoxhaism (neo-revisionism hidden behind alleged “Hoxhaism”). Therefore, we must prepare our ideological struggle against possible future splittings of our Stalinist-Hoxhaist movement by learning from the historical experiences of the so called “Sino-Soviet-Split”. Never unification with the open and hidden revisionists! No matter how loud the revisionists will call us “splitters” and sectarians”! We will always defend Hoxhaism as bravely as comrade Enver Hoxha had defended Stalinism – no matter what kind of double play will appear between *open* Anti-Stalinism-Hoxhaism and *hidden* Anti-Stalinism-Hoxhaism (neo-revisionism - hidden behind alleged “Stalinism-Hoxhaism”).

In truth it was a sham of the common struggle of ALL the revisionists against Marxism-Leninism, against Stalinism, against the socialist revolution of the world proletariat. The so called “Sino-Soviet Split” is expression of anti-communism and a counter-revolutionary act of liquidating the Stalinist world movement.

Alleged “Anti-Maoism” of the Soviet-revisionists was guided by the aim of Anti-Stalinism. And alleged “pro-Stalinism” of the Maoists was guided by the same aim – Anti-Stalinism. The coinciding nature of Chinese and Soviet revisionism was - anti-Stalinism. They differed only in its tactical form – thus *open* anti-Stalinism on the Russian side and *hidden* anti-Stalinism on the Chinese side. Both forms are complementary forms to serve the same aim – thus anti-Stalinism. The Soviet-revisionists wanted to eliminate Stalinism as a “foreign body” which “contradicts” with Marxism-Leninism [struggle against Stalinism was masked behind the accusations of so called “personal cult”]. The Maoists wanted (at first) to eliminate Stalinism just by supporting the revisionist line of Khrushchev. However, as they noticed that Khrushchevism was already discredited by its open anti-Stalinism and profoundly criticized by the PLA, the Maoists made a tactical 180 degree turn and aimed for replacing Stalinism through Maoism [namely the ideology of “Marxism-Leninism-Maoism” (MLM) emanated from this anti-Stalinist goal. The one struggled against Marxism-Leninism behind the mask of “Leninism”. And the other struggled against Marxism-Leninism behind the mask of “Stalinism”. That is not the crucial point. The crucial point is:

The so called “SINO-SOVIET SPLIT” must be considered as a double play of the world bourgeoisie – namely serving her aim to prevent the downfall of world capitalism by the socialist world revolution, and last not least, to stop the establishment of world socialism through implementation of Stalinism.

The so called “SINO-SOVIET SPLIT” was the adequate tactics and inevitable answer to the then existing confusing situation within the communist world movement after the death of comrade Stalin. Together with the death body of comrade Stalin, the Soviet revisionist wanted simultaneously to bury Stalinism.

What was the confusing situation of the communist world movement?

The communist world movement had lost its greatest leader, comrade Stalin. This meant in fact that the communist world movement was set back for decades. Especially the weakness of the leaderless communist world movement was like a vacuum which could not be filled by a new leader of the world proletariat comparable with the great comrade Stalin. Unfortunately, there was no new Stalin. The crime of the Soviet-revisionists was thus not only the murder of Stalin but moreover the liquidation of all the other Stalinist leaders of the CPSU. With the elimination of the Stalinist leaders of the CPSU the Soviet-revisionists paved the way for filling the gap of leadership of the communist world movement with their own revisionist leaders. This way, the Soviet revisionists emerged as lackeys of the world bourgeoisie by weakening, splitting and liquidating the communist world movement. However, all these treacherous and counter-revolutionary acts were unmasked by the Stalinists with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head. And because of this victory of the Stalinists over Soviet revisionism, Maoism became the significance as an allegedly “anti-revisionist”, “pro-Stalinist” ideology. This sham maneuver within the communist world movement was the tactics of the so called “Sino-Soviet Split” for the purpose to deepen the split of the communist world movement, to push it away from Stalinist principles and to complete its liquidation.

At latest with the XX. Congress of the CPSU, the communist world movement was overwhelmed by increasing influence by the open anti-Stalinism of the modern revisionists. And it was the 7th Congress of the Comintern which paved the way for this revisionist deviation within the communist world movement in general and within the single communist parties in particular. Since the death of comrade Stalin it was more and more difficult for the Stalinists within the communist world movement to criticize and unmask the revisionist position of anti-Stalinism namely to follow the PLA and comrade Enver Hoxha at the head. This task was all the more difficult to fulfill, after the Maoists had tried to take the lead of anti-Sovietism. It is known from history of class struggle that the reformists and revisionists have always tried to seize, monopolize and take over the lead of class-struggle, uprisings and revolutions, for the purpose to break away the revolutionary leadership, to redirect class-struggle in peaceful waters, thus to protect the bourgeoisie from attacks of the revolutionary workers. For the purpose to prevent the socialist world revolution, the world bourgeoisie needs to take over the lead of the communist world movement – namely from inside. And because the Soviet revisionists were unable to completely take over the lead of the Stalinist world movement, the world bourgeoisie resorted to the Maoists to take over the leadership of the anti-Soviet-revisionist front within the communist world movement.

It was therefore inevitable for the world bourgeoisie to influence particularly the defenders of the Stalinist camp. Logically, this could not be mastered by the Soviet Revisionists themselves because they were more and more discredited. Therefore the Soviet-revisionists needed a counterpart – and these were the Chinese revisionists. “Anti-Soviet-revisionism” and “Anti-Maoism” - this was the pingpong tactics between the Soviet-Revisionists and the Maoists. The true Stalinists should be split, and grinded down through a pincer movement between the Soviet revisionist and Maoist camp. The liquidation of the communist world movement was not possible by only one force of revisionism. It was only possible by means of *two* revisionist camps – the Russian and the Chinese camp. The purpose was clear: the members of the communist world movement were forced to take sides either with Russia or China and NOT to take sides with the Albanian comrades as the only true leaders of the Stalinist world movement.

If we want to give a correct scientific answer to the question of the true intentions of the feigned "anti-Maoism" of the Soviet revisionists, we must at first basically distinguish the development of Soviet social-imperialism from that of the Maoist social-imperialism; and secondly we must analyze both the rivalry of the Russian and Chinese bourgeoisie within the system of world imperialism and their co-operation for defending the system of world imperialism against the communist world movement and the socialist world revolution of the proletariat. The teachings of Leninism on the nature of imperialism are valid for both the Russian and Chinese social-imperialism. One of the main features of Hoxhaism is the enrichment of the Leninist-Stalinist lessons on the theory of imperialism: **Social-imperialism is scientific expression of the highest stage of restoration of capitalism.** This was typical for the social-imperialist Soviet Union.

But not typical for Chinese social-imperialism.

In contrast, Chinese social-imperialism emanated from a **former semi-colonial country** [also other former colonial and semi-colonial countries formed a new type of emerging imperialism such as India, Brazil, South-Africa etc.].

Both kinds of social-imperialism have similar historical roots: The Soviet social-imperialism is expression of the restoration of the **Tsarist Empire** while the Chinese social-imperialism is expression of the restoration of the **Chinese Empire** which is, by the way, older and with far more significance in world history. These similar historical roots are doubtlessly reflected in the restoration of hegemonic ideology of Russia and China, and thus strong enough to influence and dominate the ideological development of all the other countries in the world.

According to our scientific dialectical method of "unity and conflict of opposites" we analyze the contrast and consequently the conflict of Russian and Chinese social imperialism and its ideology. Both social-imperialist systems developed after the death of comrade Stalin and in contrast to Stalinism – however in different ways. Decisive is the fact that the Soviet social-imperialism and its development towards a superpower occurred **after** the Stalinist phase of the transformation of socialism to communism in the Soviet Union and **after** the creation of the Stalinist world camp. The Stalinist leadership of the socialist world system was misused for the development of Russian social-imperialism.

In contrast, the Chinese social-imperialism emanated from the struggle against the predomination of the Soviet social-imperialism within the revisionist world camp. According to our Stalinist-Hoxhaist scientific point of view, and in the strict sense, the Chinese imperialism did not emanate from the ground of the restoration of capitalism in a socialist country, in comparison with the revisionist and social-imperialist Soviet Union. The Chinese economy had even not reached the first stage of the Leninist NEP which was expressively **based on the dictatorship of the proletariat** and which in contrast, **never** existed in China.

China developed to an imperialist superpower without having been a socialist country, thus firstly by means of the support of the Stalinist world camp, especially by the economical aid of comrade Stalin and the Soviet Union. And after the revisionists had seized power, China received economical support by the revisionist world camp and additionally by the world imperialists, primarily by the USA which were interested in strengthening own hegemonic position through weakening the communist world movement and supporting splittism in its ranks, in general, and through taking advantage of the conflict between the Russian and Chinese social-imperialists, in particular. The world imperialist system supported both the Soviet-revisionists and the Maoists, firstly for the purpose to control and balancing the deepening of their contradictions; and secondly, financial aid of the world imperialist system was only provided under the precondition that the Maoists and Soviet revisionists would strengthen their struggle against further global spreading of communism and against the danger of the socialist world revolution.

Last not least, the revisionist "Three-World-Theory" played a decisive role for the development of Chinese imperialism, especially its strengthening through Chinese neo-colonialism- namely through exploitation and oppression of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin-America. And all this utilization and **combination of different sources** (in addition to the unitilization of the **historical sources of the old Chinese Empire** and its ideologists) of the development of Chinese social-imperialism is expression of the eclectic "amalgam", the special feature of Maoism. It was the "merit" of Mao Tsetung to transform a semi-colonial country into a colonial world power. More than that: Mao Tsetung paved the way for the restoration of a former hegemonic Empire – namely unparalleled and thus for the first time in world history. And this was spirit and purpose of Maoism. The capitalist-revisionist world answered with "anti-Maoism" – namely to "kill two birds with one stone":

Firstly, to roll back the hegemonial character of Maoism and **secondly** to roll back the communist world movement (in combination and with help of Maoism).

Neo-revisionism is that revisionism which has changed its skin relatively to modern revisionism. He is the veiled form of revisionism with which the bourgeoisie makes transition from avoiding the stage of socialism in "one" country to avoid the stage of socialism in all countries.

Under the banner of "struggle against dogmatism and sectarianism" (sectarianism, in particular, is the organizational expression of dogmatism), the Soviet revisionists struggled against Marxism-Leninism as the main danger.

We cannot struggle against revisionism on the basis of the revisionist ideology.

We can only struggle against modern revisionism and all other kinds of revisionism and neo-revisionism on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism.

When the Soviet-revisionists attacked Maoism, they simultaneously called China a "socialist" country and exchanged niceties and congratulations.

The Soviet revisionists created their agencies in China and the Chinese revisionists created their agencies in the Soviet Union, and both China and the Soviet Union created their own agencies within Socialist Albania and within the Albanian Marxist-Leninist World Movement.

The false struggles "against" Maoism on the one side and "against" Soviet revisionism on the other side are both expression of mutual rivalry for domination in the world communist movement. The one revisionist camp struggled for the maintenance of its domination and the other revisionist camp struggled for its removal and ran thus for its own domination. It was a battle for supremacy in between the revisionist Soviet Union and the revisionist China.

This shows that they are both counter-revolutionary camps which hide their own revisionism behind the alleged "struggle against revisionism" in other countries: such as China. This dangerous tactic was unmasked by comrade Enver Hoxha. And our duty is, as Stalinists-Hoxhaists, to defend comrade Enver Hoxha's struggle of unmasking the demagogical tactic of the Soviet revisionists - namely their deception of their alleged struggle "against" Maoism.

There have been both Soviet agents in China and in the Maoist parties in the world [to decompose], and also spies from the Maoist parties who operated with their agents in the Soviet revisionist parties. Both agencies were simultaneously encouraging subversive acts in the Marxist-Leninist parties, not only in the PLA, but also in the fraternal parties.

The decisions of 1957 and 1960 were a compromise. They contained both Marxist-Leninist and revisionist objectives (eclecticism).

The discussions of 1957 and 1960 were a ticking time bomb between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism.

The whole later conflict, the escalation through to cleavage it was only a matter of time.

This resulted in the formation of the Maoist line, with the REQUIRED split between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism being systematically undermined.

Instead the only correct alternative to modern revisionism, ie Marxism-Leninism, a new revisionist line was set as an alternative in the world with Maoism.

Basically Maoism should bring the anti-Communist work to a successful end, accomplishing that which Titoism and Soviet revisionism had failed, namely to hold the world proletariat away of the world socialist revolution to renounce Marxism-Leninism, and to prevent the reorganization of the Communist International.

It is striking and significant, therefore, the positions of the PLA and of Enver Hoxha are almost silent throughout the debate!!! This is the crux of the whole discussion and conflict between the Chinese and Soviet revisionists.

The only correct Marxist-Leninist standpoint of Albania is virtually avoided!!! Even in the Chinese documents Albania is hardly mentioned. China has the Albanian public position hardly represented!

The whole study of the arguments used by the Soviet revisionists as capitalists against their Chinese capitalist competitors (on one hand) and their Chinese allied counterparts against Marxism-Leninism (on the other hand - together against socialist Albania and Hoxhaism), serves us to continue our war against Maoism.

Our weak point was the temporary cooperation with the Chinese revisionists.

Today, the argument of many Maoists is therefore:

"Until the death of Mao, we were friends, but after Mao's death you have betrayed our friendship!"

The point is Hoxhaism against Maoism in particular in the period between the XX. Congress of the CPSU and the death of Mao Tsetung.

This is the period where Hoxhaism had already criticized Maoism internally, but not yet openly attacked.

The break with the revisionist Soviet Union could only lead to Marxist-Leninist world movement to nothing but to break also with the Chinese revisionists, who not only sabotaged the Albanian struggle against Soviet revisionism, but had also gone over to sabotage the building of socialism in Albania and divide the anti-revisionist world movement.

In conclusion:

The Maoists say just as the Soviet revisionists, that we can be "Marxists-Leninists" without Stalin and Enver Hoxha, so that the anti-Stalinism-Hoxhaism is a particular expression of the "principles strength" of the false "Marxist-Leninists", something owned by the phony so-called "Marxists-Leninists" to distinguish them from the "dogmatists" and "sectarians".

Both the Maoists and the Soviet revisionists alike tried to separate Stalinism-Hoxhaism from Marxism-Leninism, or even to put Marxism-Leninism against Stalinism-Hoxhaism. Those who "defend" this are revisionists, but never Marxist-Leninist. Today, only those who are Stalinist-Hoxhaist can be Marxist-Leninist.

Both the Soviet and the Maoist revisionists use their own revisionism to jeopardize and annihilate the only correct way to unity of the world communist movement.

Here, the Soviet revisionist world camp was based on the "Moscow Declarations" of 1957 and 1960 and the Maoist camp on the world forensic "Polemic for general line" of 1963.

Both revisionist world camps accused each other as splitters. Here, both camps have made cleavage in the service of the world bourgeoisie and thus seriously damaged the unity of international communism.

In times of Enver Hoxha, there could be no unity with revisionists within the world communist movement, and today no unity with the neo-revisionists within the Stalinist-Hoxhaist world movement.

The world socialist camp could only form a unit as long as it was guided by the principles of Stalinism.

The camp of the Soviet revisionists explicitly based on the ideology of anti-Stalinism, claimed the victory of Leninism over the supposed "cult of personality" of Stalin.

The Soviet revisionist world camp led straight into the camp of world imperialism over the three ideological decomposition stations, starting with the Khrushchevism over the Brezhnevism up to Gorbachev.

The Soviet revisionist world camp was characterized by the fact that it split the unity of the world communist movement and its Stalinist foundations in the way of the so-called struggle against the "left" opportunism, falsely "against dogmatism and sectarianism".

The world camp of Maoism aimed to break the power of the Soviet revisionist world to replace it. This Maoist camp held - in contrast to the Soviet revisionists - in words (formal false) "Stalinism" while fighting against it in deeds, to replace it through Maoism.

Maoism is characterized particularly by the fact that it split the anti-revisionist world camp.

So these two revisionist world camps were not for the unity of the world communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, but were together with Titoism the three mutually complementary spearheads of revisionism against Marxism-Leninism.

Hoxhaism was and is the only ideology that defended the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism and further developed them against the cleavage by the Titoists, by the Soviet revisionists and by the Maoists. It fought them victoriously and thus the unity of the Marxist-Leninist world movement was restored again.

It is the largest division in the history of the world communist movement.

From these lessons we will learn to prevent or overcome similar revisionist hidden methods of splitting in the future.

From these lessons we will learn that such splitting can be prevented or overcome in the future.

Maoism has split defined as a law of development of the world communist movement and thus resorted to the methodology of Trotskyism.

After overcoming the division by the Maoists, the Marxist-Leninist world movement was consolidated by comrade Enver Hoxha.

But since the death of Enver there was a new division. This time, the Comintern (SH) acted successfully for its overcoming. This proves that anti-communist splits were always avoided or overcome at a higher level of Marxism-Leninism.

Under pressure from the Marxist-Leninists, the revisionists themselves were put in a defensive which they are forced to justify. They go on to paint their revisionist positions with red color and call them "Marxism-Leninism". In countries where this pressure from the Marxist-Leninists is relatively weak, the revisionists have to do less effort to justify revolutionary phrases with their revisionist phraseology. In countries where the pressure of the Marxist-Leninists is particularly high on the revisionists, much more red color is used to fool the masses. Ultimately, one tries to save himself with the method of division.

The new revisionists are those who are trying to soften the demarcation line to the old revisionists, they are the ones who want to vary in the fight against revisionism and ultimately reach their cooperation. That was also the "anti-revisionist attitude" of the Chinese revisionists against the Soviet revisionism.

The plug end to the neck in opportunism of the Chinese leadership took with time (so as not to spoil the other revisionists) a disparaging, hostile attitude towards the Marxist-Leninist parties. They did not support the revolutionary activities of the Marxist-Leninist parties, but distanced themselves from them. They saw in the true Marxist-Leninist movement a serious obstacle to their conciliatory path with the world bourgeoisie. That's why they have never known and could have never known seriously a Marxist-Leninist course. The Chinese leadership saw in the Marxist-Leninist world movement only an object for the Chinese propaganda, for the Chinese social-imperialist interests, on the other revisionist parties to whom they wanted a free approach to pressure and deceive the Chinese people and the revolutionary world public with the "firmness of principle" of Chinese leaders reportedly applauded.

Whatever revisionists fostered Chinese bourgeois class' interests - for Mao Tsetung it was all that mattered – China would provide them with applause.

The break with the Chinese revisionism was so far a great victory for the Marxist-Leninist world movement, because it was expressed that there may be a unit with no new revisionism, even if it pretends to "stay" together with us to fight against revisionism.

It is known that the revisionists do not put in their united front tactics about the firmness of principle and standards of Marxism-Leninism for the mutual relations as a criterion to reason, but the unconditional recognition of the revisionist line.

This is a chauvinist and anti-Marxist criterion.

This amounts to an attempt to prevent the union of all true Marxist-Leninist forces in the world and to create divisions within the revolutionary workers' movement at national and international level.

The revisionists are not really interested in the unity, but only in an even more effective cleavage.

What the Khrushchevist revisionists permeated with the "mother party" and their "baton" was later copied by Mao Tsetung, namely to impose the Chinese revisionist line to all others.

They only want to have all subordinated to them and only want to eliminate the only basis for unity – the absolutely necessary indispensable guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism.

The revisionists - and the conciliators with the revisionists - are enemies of the revolutionary unity and any entity which is not revolutionary is unacceptable for Stalinist-Hoxhaists.

The struggle against revisionism can not exist without Marxist-Leninist unity, cannot be performed without global collaboration of Stalinist-Hoxhaists.

For where the international solidarity of the anti-revisionism is missing or where this is poorly developed, the revisionists put their own "unity" lever, to cleave.

The principle, the fundamental lesson of this betrayal of the revisionists is loud and clear:

No to the united front with the revisionists, but against the revisionists!

In the united front of the world proletariat and the Comintern (SH), we must always be guided solely by the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism.

The basis of the revolutionary united front tactic is the recognition and implementation, the inviolability of the hegemony of the world revolutionary proletariat!

But how do we Stalinists-Hoxhaists approach the unity?

We provide first the cardinal question:

Alliance with which classes and why?

From this the correct question in mind, we disclaim any unity with such forces that deny the proletariat leadership role in the revolution, do not recognize the central role of the proletariat as a social main driving force of the present epoch, and instead fusion the proletariat with the reactionary bourgeoisie and all its allies and lackeys in a common pot.

We Stalinists-Hoxhaists disclaim any unity with those who contradict the class interests of the proletariat.

Marxism-Leninism teaches that the true Marxist-Leninist party must achieve its strategic objectives skillful and revolutionary tactics of the unity must be used to conquer the natural allies of the proletariat, to exploit the inter-imperialist contradictions and must create alliances with such forces in particular frame and that for a specific time are interested in the promotion of the proletarian revolution:

"At the same time, this party must not efface its individuality, enter every sort of front and destroy itself. On the contrary it should always preserve its independence, principles and norms. It must, without fail, ensure its hegemonic role in the revolution through struggle and its correct policy. For the revolution to be crowned with success it must be led by its Marxist-Leninist party, but no one will give you hegemony: it must be won." (Enver Hoxha, *In Struggle and Revolution the Marxist-Leninists Become Strong and Indomitable, Discussion with Comrade Pedro Pomar*, 1967 in: Albania Today, 1977, edition in English)

"Without making a clear-cut line of distinction between revisionist views and Marxism-Leninism, dogmatism and sectarianism cannot be combated successfully from a correct standpoint." (Enver Hoxha, *Report to the IV. Congress of the PLA*, 1961, edition in English)

Consequently, it is clear that one can never struggle correctly against revisionist positions from positions of dogmatism and sectarianism.

That is just the reverse:

To lead the fight against dogmatism and sectarianism of revisionist positions is in truth the revisionist masking of its struggle against Stalinism-Hoxhaism.

It is also clear that one can not fight against dogmatism and sectarianism if one does not simultaneously lead an anti-revisionist struggle, as both offer each other the soil against Marxism-Leninism, the one and the other must be equally withdrawn.

Dogmatism, sectarianism and "left" opportunism are only the reverse side of the revisionist medal.

The so-called "struggle against revisionism" on the part of the sectarians, the dogmatist, of the "left" opportunists - in turn serves only revisionism.

It weakens Stalinism-Hoxhaism and makes it easier to revisionism to gain access through the back door when the "left" opportunism knocks on the front door and vice versa.

Both the right and the "left" opportunism work hand in hand against Marxism-Leninism.

One can not therefore fight the "left" opportunism without fighting the "rightist" opportunism, neither vice versa.

Stalinist-Hoxhaists must therefore fight against both, must engage in a two-front war against opportunism, including against the conciliators and centrists who soften this inevitably necessary two-front war to divide, weaken and liquidate it. They do this sometimes with open revisionist masks, sometimes with "left" opportunism, and sometimes also with false "Marxist-Leninist" masks, as demonstrated by the history of Trotskyism [see: "The Bolshevik Trotsky and the Menshevik Trotsky"].

The struggle against Stalinism-Hoxhaism, the fight against sectarianism, dogmatism, the "left" radicalism, "left" opportunism under the fake "Marxist-Leninist" flag – this is a hoax from the neo-revisionists.

“The liberation of the consciousness of the proletariat and the peoples from the inhibiting influence of revisionism, the dissemination of Marxism - Leninism which points out the only correct course for the struggle and victory, is a primary task today in order to carry forward the revolutionary process in each country and on a world scale.” (Enver Hoxha, *Report to the VIII Congress of the PLA*, 1981, edition in English)

Those who denounces the principles of strength of the Comintern (SH) and their loyalty to Stalinism-Hoxhaism in a time of theoretical incoherence, in an era of neo-revisionist unprincipled "anti-dogmatism" has either not realized that there is no world socialist revolution without world revolutionary theory, or wants to prevent the world proletariat from acquiring the ideology of its liberation.

Those who instead try to keep the world proletariat away from the ideology of Stalinism-Hoxhaism or even want to "liberate" it like a puppet of world imperialism is betraying the world proletariat that can not be free without revolutionary theory and without the leadership of the Communist International.

Those who demagogic denigrate the need for the leadership of the world proletariat as "paternalism", who demagogic represent Stalinism-Hoxhaism as something "harmful", that is, as something that is "forced" upon the will of the masses artificially, is not a defender of the interests of the masses, but a defender of the world bourgeoisie who will do anything to prevent the masses to put the teachings of their liberation into practice.

2.2 – Trotskyist false “anti-Maoism”

After having analyzed Soviet false “anti-Maoism”, we will now examine Trotskyist supposed “anti-Maoism”.

We, Stalinists-Hoxhaists, know that the political posturing of Trotsky and the Trotskyists – which still nowadays hold heavy influence over students and the youth, among others - have only benefited world bourgeois class, giving it ideological weapons to deceive

workers about the proletarian character of Stalin's USSR and trying to 'prove' that the cure (socialism) was actually worse than the disease (capitalism).

Since Trotsky maneuvers to destroy socialism in the Soviet Union were unmasked and defeated by the Bolsheviks with comrade Stalin at their head, Trotskyists and their supporters all around the world have launched a tremendous campaign against Stalinism in order to discredit socialist construction in Soviet Union as being “a product of bureaucracy” and of “Stalin’s personal dictatorship”. With this, they consciously benefited the class interests of the world bourgeoisie, as the demonization of Stalinism has always been a major priority to it, and remains as such until nowadays.

Indeed, most of Trotskyists lies and calumnies against comrade Stalin were used not only by world bourgeoisie but also by Khrushchevist revisionists in their efforts to justify their policies of capitalist-imperialist restoration in Soviet Union. As comrade Enver remarked, many Khrushchevist anti-Stalinist attacks were:

“ (...) borrowed from the arsenal of imperialist and Trotskyite propaganda which presented the past of the Soviet Union as a period of "mass reprisals", and the socialist system as "suppression of democracy" and a "dictatorship like that of Ivan the Terrible", etc.” (Enver Hoxha, *Eurocommunism is Anti-communism*, Tirana 1980, edition in English)

We won't provide our readers with a materialist analysis about the character of the socio-economic basis that gives birth to the phony Trotskyist “anti-Maoism” on the same molds of that presented in the previous sub-chapter about Soviet revisionists’ “anti-Maoism”. In what respects to Trotskyism, until now, in spite of its influence, it never managed to become revisionism in power in any country, although Titoist Yugoslavia is perhaps the closest thing to a Trotskyist state that ever existed:

“The Yugoslav revisionists adopted those forms of running their country that the Trotskyites (...), encouraged by the capitalist bourgeoisie, tried to adopt in the Soviet Union in the time of Lenin, in order to sabotage the construction of socialism there. While he talked about building socialism, by adopting these forms, Tito completely distorted the Marxist-Leninist principles on building up industry, agriculture, etc.” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

In his brilliant book “Yugoslav auto-administration – capitalist theory and practice”, comrade Enver already made a materialist analysis of the socio-economic basis of Titoist Yugoslavia, thus unmasking its anti-socialist, bourgeois-capitalist and pro-imperialist nature behind any doubts. Thus, our own brief reflections about the matter here could only be redundant and of much inferior quality to those put forward by the 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism.

The denouncement of Trotskyist revisionism from Stalinist-Hoxhaist positions could be in itself the subject of many other entire articles. By now, we will note the fact that

relatively to Maoism, Trotskyists promptly perceived Maoism both as a rival ideology and a useful ideology against Stalinism. Indeed, contrary to Trotskyism, whose revisionist and anti-communist nature often appeared clearly in front of the eyes of world laborers, Maoism had the edge over the pseudo-Marxist-Leninist appearance, especially in the alleged struggle “against” Soviet revisionism.

In face of this, Trotskyists understood that they were in danger of ceasing to be useful to the world bourgeois class, as much more efficient branches of revisionism were emerging. If during many years before comrade Stalin’s death, Trotskyism had been a valuable instrument of world exploitative and oppressive classes to prevent workers from adhering to authentic Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, since the emergence of Titoism, Khrushchevism and foremost Maoism, Trotskyists were facing a real danger of losing their place as “savers” of world capitalism-imperialism against socialist revolution and construction. And moreover, they knew very well that the continuation of the so-called “Trotskyist world movement” would only be ensured as long as world capitalist-imperialist system could take some advantages from it.

We can never underestimate Trotskyist revisionism! The struggle of the Soviet-revisionists against Stalinism, particularly in their period of de-Stalinization, was an enormous encouragement and strengthening for all anti-Stalinist forces all over the world. Especially, the rehabilitation of Trotskyism was one of the gravest betrayals of the Soviet revisionists because this was a great aid for the rebirth and regeneration of the Trotskyite movements all over the world which were already defeated in times of comrade Stalin.

The Trotskyites understood very well to take advantage of the revisionist degeneration of the communist world movement after the death of comrade Stalin. The Trotskyites functioned as destructive elements in the ranks of communism and aggravated the splittings, factions and weakening of the communist world movement at that time. Spreading confusion, doubts and contradictions within the ranks of the communist world movement for the purpose of its weakening and liquidation – that is the true nature of Trotskyism which was also the Trotskyist tactics towards Maoism and the Maoist world movements. And exactly this was indeed useful for the whole world imperialist system in its struggle against communism in general and Stalinism in particular.

In order to combat the growing influence of their Maoist revisionist rivals, Trotskyist organizations resorted to a very old tactic: they tried to discredit Maoism by equating it with Stalinism. Trotskyists started to use this calumny during a time when bourgeois-Khrushchevist attacks against comrade Stalin were intensifying and when many workers were being misled and convinced that Stalinism = evil. Therefore, Trotskyists opportunistically took advantage of this and of their long past experience of anti-Stalinist bandits to start qualifying as “Stalinist” all other currents of revisionism that they perceived as being competing with them for absolute power and influence over world revisionism.

We will not waste too much time with the abhorrent Trotskyist slander of equating Maoism with Stalinism. In this and in other texts and also in previous chapters of DWM,

we demonstrate that Maoism social-fascism not only has nothing in common with glorious Stalinism, but it is firmly opposed to it, thus Stalinist ideology could have never had anything to do with Maoist bourgeois-capitalist ascension and rule. Trotskyists try to present the wage slavagist tyranny of Chinese revisionism as being “Stalinist” only to discredit comrade Stalin’s legacy in front of eyes of world workers in order to keep them away from it.

Trotskyists discredit Stalinism through hiding its truly proletarian and communist nature by equating it with such a dreadfully pro-capitalism, social-imperialist, anti-communist and reactionary ideology as Maoism. In this outrageous manner, all exploitative and oppressive characteristics of Maoism and of its successors and consequences (namely its transformation of China into a social-fascist state internally and into a social-imperialist superpower externally) are automatically attributed to the glorious teachings of comrade Stalin. But Trotskyists are the ones who do their utmost to prevent world socialist revolution and world communism, they are the ones who have everything in common with Maoism revisionism and with all other kinds of revisionisms, as no matter the “differences” between them, their essence and aim are always the same: perpetuating of capitalism-imperialism, delaying world socialist revolution and communism as much as they can.

In truth, Trotskyists never recovered from the tremendous defeat they suffered when they tried to destroy Stalinist leadership and to restore capitalism in Soviet Union through fabricating ridiculous theories about “permanent revolution” only to weaken Soviet proletarian dictatorship in favor of world imperialist penetration and destruction of socialist construction in Soviet Union. Trotskyists try to take advantage of every opportunity to deviate workers from Stalinist-Hoxhaist ideology which is the only ideology able to enlighten their path towards world socialism and world communism, towards definitive liberation, towards total elimination of all kinds of exploitation, oppression and alienation.

Trotskyists (and all the other revisionists, neo-revisionists and anti-communists) do not want this to occur, they want proletarians, workers and all other exploited and oppressed classes to be eternally subjected to wage slavagist tyranny and to the predatory greed of world capitalism-imperialism. Therefore, they have to serve their world bourgeois bosses as best as they can through convincing world workers that Stalinism is synonym of the despotic repressive and abusive capitalist class despotism which has been tyrannizing China since 1949.

Indeed, if world proletarians and workers believe that Maoism = Stalinism, then they will surely lose any willingness to embrace Stalinist ideology because if they look attentively at revisionist China, both past and present, they will only see exploitation, wage slavery, oppression, suppression, autocracy, totalitarianism and cruelty towards workers. And from the moment they think so and refuse Stalinism, accomplishment of world socialist revolution, of world proletarian dictatorship, of world socialism and of world communism will be impossible, as none of these things can be achieved without resolute adherence and unwavering defense of the brilliant revolutionary teachings of comrade

Stalin, the 4th Classic of Marxism-Leninism. Stalinism represents an irreplaceable and inestimable development of the Marxist-Leninist theory, and to deny Comrade Stalin's contribution means to deny socialist revolution in itself. Stalinism is an irreplaceable factor which permits the victorious implementation and survival of the proletarian dictatorship, which allows successful socialist and communist construction together with an efficient struggle against all kinds of revisionism, neo-revisionism and anti-communism. That's why the Trotskyists and the Maoists hate Stalinism so much. We can never forget Mao's arrogant remark about Chinese 1949 bourgeois-capitalist-revisionist "revolution":

"The Chinese revolution won victories so because it defied the will of Stalin." [Mao, Debate of March 10, Selected Works, March 1958, quoted in: General-Line of the Comintern (SH), *Historical teachings of the Comintern and of the Communist World Movement*, Chapter VIII, 2011, edition in English]

Yes, of course. Chinese 1949 "revolution" never went beyond its bourgeois stage precisely because its Maoist promoters at the service of the then Chinese "national" bourgeoisie always prevented it through refusing and waging a staunch struggle against Stalinism. After all, if it was not by this, this Chinese "national" bourgeoisie could have never accomplished its later turning of China into a world's dominant imperialist and neo-colonialist superpower. If Stalinism had prevailed in 1949 China, the Chinese "national" bourgeoisie could say goodbye not only to its plans of imperialist ascension, but also to its own existence as a class. No wonder that its Maoist representatives did their utmost to keep Stalinism away. And this was the reason why the Trotskyites had made internally efforts to form a united front with Maoism against Stalinism and to legalize a Trotskyite faction within the "C" P of China.

To reject Stalinism is synonym of choosing the side of world capitalism-imperialism, of world reactionarism, of world anti-communism, of world bourgeoisie, is synonym of striving to condemn workers to endless subjugation to wage slavagist totalitarian, anti-socialist, oppressive and exploitative bourgeois capitalist-revisionist-imperialist order. To refuse Stalinist ideology means to deny the possibility of successful socialist revolution; and the negation of the possibility of successful socialist revolution is synonym of considering communism as an unrealizable utopia because the accomplishment of communism is dependent on the success of the socialist construction and on the revolutionary fierceness of proletarian dictatorship.

With this, Trotskyists aim at fulfilling their ideological duties as lackeys of world bourgeoisie and of world capitalist-imperialist while they also "prove" that they are still useful to their masters, and therefore they are also combating Maoism as a rival revisionism. Of course, Trotskyists do everything to make this masquerade appear "credible" to world proletarians, workers and exploited and oppressed classes. However, the anti-Stalinist character of Maoism is so evident that Trotskyists themselves have difficulties in maintaining their own lies:

“The fact that the Maoist leadership would deliberately seek to inject the poison of Stalinism into the minds of millions of youth—even if that is done with admissions about the “errors” of the despot who butchered Lenin’s generation, and even if contradicted by advocacy of policies that are not Stalinist—says much about the kind of international movement that Peking is assembling together.”
(<http://www.marxists.org/history/etol/document/fi/1963-1985/usfi/8thWC/usfi04.htm>,
The Sino-Soviet Conflict and the Crisis of the International Communist Movement, 1965, edition in English)

So, putting aside Trotskyists’ usual anti-Stalinist rubbish and also the fact that they qualify the anti-communist criminals attempting to restore capitalist-feudal bondage in Soviet Union as being “Lenin’s generation”, it is incredible to see Trotskyists affirming with their own disgusting mouths that Maoist leadership is allegedly “Stalinist” even if it advocates policies which are not Stalinist. Please, how can someone be Stalinist while refusing to follow Stalinist policies? Even if Maoist leadership affirmed to be “Stalinist”, Trotskyists themselves are acknowledging that it could never be so! This quotation from the Trotskyists is a good example of Trotskyists insistence in depicting Maoist leadership as “Stalinist” even if they are the ones openly admitting that the opposite is true! Trotskyists are so desperate to put aside a rival revisionist “international movement” which is competing with their own that they even contradict themselves in their lies. They want to discredit Maoism, and so they resort to the kind of calumny that they know better: anti-Stalinism – even if it is crystal clear even for them that qualifications of Stalinism do not suit Maoist leadership in any manner.

In truth, there are no substantial or essential differences between Trotskyism and Maoism. The phony “criticisms” that each one of these revisionist branches directs towards the other is merely intended not only to deviate the attention of working class from genuine anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist communist struggle and to submerge it in a pretense “fight” between two entirely anti-socialist currents, but also to destroy an ideological rival for dominance over world revisionism – just like also occurred with the “split” and “disputes” between Soviet revisionism and Chinese Maoist revisionism and with Soviet phony “anti-Maoist criticisms”.

In what concerns Trotskyism of the Chinese revisionists, it is very dangerous because they hide it behind “anti-Trotskyist” slogans. Chinese leaders are Trotskyist divisors and liquidators of the Marxist-Leninist world movement. Anyway, the remarkable similarities between Trotskyism and Maoism were noted by comrade Enver Hoxha, who noticed that Trotskyism had exercised a heavy influence over the so-called “Communist” Party of China since very early and throughout its course:

“(…) in general, the Communist Party of China did not properly carry out this role in this situation which had been created in China in a studied and systematic manner, seen from the angle of scientific socialism.

(…) there were different tendencies in that small party which called itself the Communist Party of China, tendencies which have never permitted a correct

Marxist-Leninist line to be established, or Marxist-Leninist thought and action to guide it.

These initial tendencies which were displayed many times among the main leaders of the party, were frequently leftist, sometimes right-opportunist, sometimes centrist, going as far as anarchist, Trotskyite, bourgeois, and marked chauvinist and racist views.

Even later, these tendencies remained as one of the distinctive characteristics of the Communist Party of China which Mao Tsetung and his group eventually led.” (Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China*, Volume II, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

And comrade Enver also noted that Maoist “Cultural Revolution” displayed clear signs of Trotskyist configuration, which Enver perceived as an inevitable result of the pro-Trotskyist ideology of Mao Zedong and of the other Chinese revisionists:

“One must not label Mao Zedong as a "prophet" of the revolution but as a "prophet of the counter-revolution". (...) The chaos which resulted in China, originated from this anti-Marxist, traitorous line of Mao Zedong and his courtiers, a chaos full of defeats in politics, ideology and economy was fought by the "Great Steersman" through the anarchy of the Cultural Revolution. This anarchist revolution saved the Maoist absolute rule but contained the risk of undermining it, too. The "prestige" of the "Steersman" had to be saved, the anarchy was not allowed to topple the myths, therefore military measures were taken.

The character of bureaucracy with the courtier Zhou Enlai-Confucius was saved and supposedly "younger" "revolutionary" elements were integrated into the scene of agitation and propaganda, for whom the "Steersman" had intended the role of painting out the anarchy as a "revolution within the revolution" by which the alleged bourgeoisie, which had infiltrated the party, was supposed to be eliminated.

But in fact there was no party, but only the bourgeoisie, there were clans and fractions which were fighting for power. This was the Trotskyist "permanent revolution", led by Mao Zedong-Trotsky.” (Enver Hoxha, *Letter to Comrade Hysni Kapo*, 30th July of 1978, edition in English)

« Truly, the centre of the Trotskyite International will be created there. All this garbage will pour into China disguised as «leftist», «Maoist» and people «persecuted» in their own countries. They will find aid and support in China, and with a comforting support and the «seal of Mao» they will begin and continue the struggle against genuine Marxist-Leninists, to win over the revisionist parties and to draw them from the influence of the revisionist Soviet Union. » (Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China*, Volume II, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

Also Maoist reactionary policy of “many lines, schools and factions in the party and in society” – which we already explained in our previous DWM - finds its equivalent in Trotskyism, it derives from Trotskyist conceptions. Comrade Enver noted:

“Mao Tsetung said: «It is enough that ten people in the Central Committee understand what Marxism is». This saying alone is sufficient to reveal the disastrous consequences and meaning of «the blossoming of a hundred flowers and a hundred schools». In the party, said Mao, «there are three currents, hence three groups: the leftists, the centrists and the rightists». With this Mao confirms with his own mouth the existence of «a hundred schools» which have been gathered in the three groups and the three lines of the party, which the Chinese practice reduces to two lines. (...) in the Communist Party of China these are not struggles like those in the Bolshevik Party or in our Party, where on the one side there were genuine Marxist-Leninists who fought to defend the Party and its Marxist- Leninist line, and on the other side, the Trotskyite, anarchist deviators and what not. No, in these factions of the Communist Party of China none of the sides was guided by Marxism-Leninism. There were factions in which all were guided by confused views, progressive bourgeois views rather than Marxist-Leninist; other factions were more to the right or more to the left, but in the leadership of the Communist Party of China there was never a Marxist-Leninist faction, that is, a sound Marxist-Leninist nucleus. » (Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China*, Volume II, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

“According to Mao Tse-Tung, in socialist society, side by side with the proletarian ideology (...) the existence of bourgeois ideology, idealism, the growth of poisonous weeds» along with «fragrant flowers», etc., must be permitted. Such a course is alleged to be necessary for the development of Marxism, in order to open the way to debate and freedom of thought, while in reality, through this course, he is trying to lay the theoretical basis for the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie and coexistence with its ideology.”

“Mao Tse-Tung says, «...it is a dangerous policy to prohibit people from coming into contact with the false, the ugly and the hostile to us, with idealism and metaphysics and with the thoughts of Confucius, Lao Tze and Chiang Kai-shek. It would lead to mental deterioration, one-track minds, and unpreparedness to face the world...».

From this Mao Tse-Tung draws the conclusion that idealism, metaphysics and the bourgeois ideology will exist eternally, therefore not only must they not be prohibited, but they must be given the possibility to blossom, to come out in the open and contend. This conciliatory stand towards everything reactionary goes so far as to call disturbances in socialist society inevitable and the prohibition of enemy activity mistaken.” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

Moreover, this policy was also defined by Mao as follows:

"Let a hundred flowers bloom" is a way to develop the art, and "Let a hundred schools of thought contend" is a means to advance science. Politics: "Let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools rival" is not only a good way to develop the science and art, but also, if we generalize its application, a good method for our work in all areas." (Mao Zedong, *Intervention à la conférence sur le travail de propagande*, Textes choisis, translated from French language)

In truth, this policy is a mere repetition of the Trotskyist theory of giving a privileged status to intellectuals with the pretext that a specifically proletarian culture does not exist. Mao equally provides intellectuals with a special status considering them as:

"... workers who provide mental efforts." (Mao Zedong, *Intervention à la conférence sur le travail de propagande*, Textes choisis, translated from French language)

Underlying the policy of a "hundred flowers", one clearly sees the idealist conception of Mao for whom, in fact, the truth is not an objective phenomenon but an essentially subjective phenomenon:

"It is only through the confrontation of opinions that truth makes its way." (Mao Zedong, *Intervention à la conférence sur le travail de propagande*, Textes choisis, translated from French language)

For him, truth follows the "clash of ideas". This idealist conception paved the way for all anti-communist deviations. As comrade Stalin noted:

"The base is the economic structure of society at the given stage of its development. The superstructure is the political, legal, artistic, philosophical views of society and the political, legal and other institutions corresponding to them." (Stalin, *Marxism and Problems of Linguistics*, 1950, edition in English)

Thus, it is entirely correct to consider art and philosophy as the domain of the superstructure. From the moment the dictatorship of the proletariat liquidates that of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat establishes itself as the ruling class it must also specifically liquidate the superstructure inherited from the old capitalist exploitative society in all spheres, including in art and philosophy, for instance. In these issues, there is no question of allowing intellectual "freedom". The proletariat must support and allow only those artists who are placed in the perspective of socialist realism. To advocate freedom of different artistic schools amounts to liquidate the absolutely necessary exclusive prevalence of proletarian art.

And Chinese revisionists also openly admit the existence of various parties during their so-called "process of socialist construction". Comrade Enver remarked:

"Mao Tsetung launched this idea of «genius», as you might say, which was in conformity with his opportunist views because such an idea meant that all the bourgeois, capitalist, Marxist, pseudo-Marxist, revisionist, Trotskyite, and anarchist

views in every field should be allowed to develop freely, and there should be discussion about them. This line stemmed from his opportunist views, because, as is apparent from his own writings, he did not guide «socialism» in China on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist theory, but on the basis of a «theory» which he developed by grafting and which they call «Mao Tsetung thought». It is not the Communist Party of China, alone, which leads this «socialism» in China, and Mao admits this from his own mouth. Other parties of the bourgeoisie, which are united in a common front with the Communist Party of China, also lead it. According to Mao Tsetung, these parties, too, must govern China, together with the Communist Party. It is clear that, according to this «theory», these parties not only have the right to have their say in the construction of a new China, but also to express their philosophical views about art, culture, the structure of the state, the army, etc., etc.” (Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China, Volume II*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

Mao himself stated that:

“The possibility that the democratic parties can exist (...) is not only determined by the desires of the Communist Party, that depends also (...) on the confidence that the people has in these parties.” (Mao Zedong, *De la juste solution des contradictions au sein du peuple, Textes choisis*, Pékin, 1972, translated from French language)

Mao defended the “coexistence of ideological lines” and of various parties with the aim of promoting class reconciliation with the bourgeoisie in order to perpetuate its wage slavagist rule and to prevent proletarian dictatorship from being established - because the political power belongs to the class who possesses and controls the means of production and the productive relations which form the material base of society, and Maoist revisionism always made efforts to avoid the annihilation of the bourgeoisie as an exploitative and oppressive class, it always prevented its deprivation of those controls and possessions. And Trotsky also defended the existence of various parties during alleged “socialist construction” with those same objectives. In his well-known “Program of Transition”, Trotsky significantly affirmed that:

“The democratization of the Soviets is unconceivable without the legalization of the Soviet Parties.” (Trotsky, *Programme de Transition*, Paris, 1973, translated from French language)

If there were still any doubts about the reactionary and anti-communist nature of both Maoist revisionism and Trotskyist revisionism, these quotations provide us with the final answer. To really construct communism, it is indispensable to implacably annihilate the entire bourgeois class and also other enslaving, exploitative, repressive and oppressive classes that might exist. Moreover, in the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, there can be only one party: the proletarian communist party, the vanguard party of the working class which is leading the exploited and oppressed masses towards socialism and communism. After the establishment and consolidation of the proletarian power, it's illogical and reactionary to admit and defend the existence of any other parties representing non-proletarian classes. The proletarian party must lead the exploited classes

and it constitutes one of the main instruments through which the proletariat exercises the revolutionary armed violence against the bourgeois and repressive classes. That's why nearly all kinds of revisionist currents have denied the leading vanguard role of the proletarian communist party. Also regarding this important issue, the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist conceptions of Comrade Enver Hoxha are in total contrast with those of revisionists and anti-communists Mao and Trotsky:

“The revolution overturns a whole world, let alone a single tradition. Since the class struggle goes on during the whole period of the construction of socialist society and the transition to communism, and since political parties express the interests of specific classes, the presence of other non-Marxist-Leninist parties in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat would be absurd and opportunist, especially after the economic base of socialism has been built. This in no way infringes democracy, but, on the contrary, strengthens genuine proletarian democracy. The democratic nature of an order is not determined by the number of parties, but is determined by its economic base, by the class in power, the whole policy and activity of the state and whether or not it is in the interests of the broad masses of the people and serves them.”(http://ciml.250x.com/archive/hoxha/english/enver_hoxha_selected_works_volume_4_eng.pdf, *On the Role and Tasks of the Democratic Front in the struggle for the complete triumph of socialism in Albania*, 1967, in: Enver Hoxha, *Selected Works*, Volume IV, 1982, edition in English)

And there is even more that Trotskyism and Maoism have in common. During the Eighth Congress of the “C”PC, Chinese revisionist / Maoist leader Liu Chao-Chi said:

“While today the period of revolutionary storm has passed, new reports of production are established, the control objectives are no longer the same. Now, the proper development of the productive forces of society is protected.” (Liou Chao-Chi, *Rapport sur le projet de constitution de la République populaire de Chine*, 1954, translated from French language)

This constitutes in fact the same Trotskyist thesis affirming that once the state power is conquered, the sole objective is the economic development of society. Consequently to such analysis, it wrongly follows that the development of the means of production automatically mechanically generates new relations of production.

Furthermore, the origins of the Maoist so-called “New Democracy” – which we analyzed in the previous DWM - can be discovered in an attempt to promote bourgeois-capitalist “democracy” (which is always a form of dictatorship of that same bourgeoisie) as an end in itself. For this, taking advantage of the economic situation of the country, Mao will spread the idea that a new path is opened to allow the bourgeoisie to participate in the construction of socialism. We see that the basis of this deviation, in Mao as well as in Trotsky, is the illusion that a temporary alliance with a party or a given class may become permanent and thus pave the way for socialism:

“(...) such a revolution in a colonial and semi-colonial country is still fundamentally bourgeois-democratic in its social character during its first stage or first step, and (...) its objective mission is to clear the path for the development of capitalism, (...) with the aim of establishing a new-democratic society and a state under the joint dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes.” (Mao Zedong, *New Democracy*, 1940, edition in English)

In this excerpt from Mao, we see clearly emerge Mao's thesis, based on the confusion carefully maintained by him between tactics and strategy. Mao is affirming that if tactically we can ally with a faction of the bourgeoisie for the liquidation of the colonial and feudal order, then we should continue the alliance with this same bourgeoisie all the way until communism! For Mao, this was a way to justify its actions, as based on the possibility of tactical alliance with some classes, he deduced that “socialism” must preserve these classes. And this is one of the greatest harms that Mao did to the Leninist theory of alliances as being only a punctual, temporary compromise, intended to strengthen the positions of the proletariat. Authentic socialist construction and revolution requires the leadership of a single class - the proletariat – which can only successfully conquer power through his vanguard party – which also must be the only party allowed to exist. Marxism-Leninism teaches that the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible without sharing political power with the poor peasants. In the contrary, Trotsky totally denied this basic principle of Marxism-Leninism, while Mao based his ideology on the power of the peasants instead of the hegemony of the proletariat.

And Mao substituted the Leninist-Stalinist concept of alliance, a new concept which, using the pretext of tactical alliances, imposes an “eternal” compromise between the proletariat and other classes. In fact, as we had stated in previous chapters of DWM, absolutely nothing differentiates Maoist supposed “New Democracy” from bourgeois “democracy” as the bourgeois class will continue to hold its dominant class positions in its hands. Although in practice Mao’s “sharing of power” between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is simply impossible, the illusion is already spread among the proletariat in order to make it be complacent and relax its class struggle and vigilance. Neither the “New Democracy”, neither bourgeois democracy will ever allow the proletariat to become the ruling class. Thus, the essential question of every revolution, that is, the question of who holds socio-economic-political power and of what is the nature of productive relations and forces is thus avoided. That covers, in fact, a “new” concept of democracy which stresses the need for democratic stage, prior to socialism. Here we have the “theory” of “democracy as an end in itself”, defended not only by Mao but also by Trotsky, who considered that democracy is an inevitable step in the political march to “socialism”.

So, as can be noticed, the resemblances between Trotskyist revisionism and Maoist revisionism are evident. In our DWM I, we had already called attention to this:

“The Comintern (SH) (...) decided to draw a principled demarcation line against the tendency of revisionism which leads to the assimilation of the Marxist-Leninist

World Movement. The most dangerous revisionist tools of this tendency of assimilation are Maoism and Trotskyism.

Maoists raised their „tactics of many lines“ (or at least „tactics of two lines“) on the level of principles. They try to prove this theoretically on the basis of the Mao Zedong-Ideas. This can be compared with Trotskyism - raising fractionism on the level of principles. Both these forms of bourgeois ideology are used to legalize anti-Marxist positions within the ranks of the communists. We call them tactics to "have a foothold" within the communist ranks - used as a tool to lever us out. Both Maoism and Trotskyism are ideologies which serve the liquidation of communism in theory and practice.

They are counter-revolutionary ideologies. In words both ideologies allege that they are „contra-dictionary“, however, in deeds they are essentially the same. Everybody knows that Mao was a master of Trotskyite tactics in his struggle against the Marxist-Leninists.” (Documents of the Comintern (SH), *Declaration of War on Maoists I*, version in English)

In their supposed “disagreements” against Maoists, Trotskyists try to pass the false image of being “democratic revolutionaries” apparently “criticizing Mao’s Stalinist deviations”. As we had already mentioned and explained, there is absolutely nothing in common between Maoism and Stalinism except the fact that both ideologies represented a dictatorship of a certain class: of the bourgeoisie in the first case, and of the proletariat in the second case.

And in fact, if we pay attention to more documents containing Trotskyist alleged “anti-Maoism”, we will conclude that the “divergences” claimed by Trotskyists do not exist in fact. Once more resorting to their already old and tedious anti-Stalinism, Trotskyists affirm:

“(...) an elemental struggle of revolutionary proportions of the ultra-exploited Chinese workers and peasants was channeled by an organization formed in the school of Stalinism, which established a brutal, totalitarian political tyranny, one which needed no lessons from Stalin in how to stay in power through the unremitting use of murderous repression.”
(<http://internationalviewpoint.npa2009.org/spip.php?article856>, *Mao in Question*, 2005, edition in English)

So, Trotskyists are once more equating Maoism with Stalinism (this is indeed the main essence of all their “anti-Maoist criticisms”). And they are trying to present Maoist rule as having a bloody, tyrannical and authoritarian character and as having been imposed against the will of the working classes. We must admit that this is indeed truth concerning Maoist social-fascist rule and leadership. As comrade Enver noted:

“The article of «Renmin Ribao» provides new information which enables one to understand even more clearly the anti-Marxist direction and personal power of Mao

Tse-Tung in the Chinese party and state. Mao Tse-Tung did not have the slightest respect for either the Central Committee or the congress of the party, let alone the party as a whole and its committees at the base. The party committees, the leading cadres and the Central Committee itself received orders from the «General Directory», this «special staff», which was responsible to Mao Tse-tung alone. The party forums, its elected organs, had no authority whatsoever.

The article of «Renmin Ribao» says, “no telegram, no letter, no document, no order could be issued by anybody without first going through Mao Tse-Tung's hands and being approved by him». It turns out that as early as 1953, Mao Tse-tung had issued a clear-cut order: «From now on, all documents and telegrams sent out in the name of the Central Committee can be dispatched only after I have gone over them, otherwise they are invalid.

Under these conditions there can be no talk of collective leadership, democracy within the party, or Leninist norms.” (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

However, the same characteristics and qualifications can be entirely applied to Trotskyist theory and practice.

Indeed, during the times they were attempting to overthrow Leninist-Stalinist proletarian dictatorship in Soviet Union in order to replace it by their own bourgeois rule that would restore capitalism and sell out the country to world imperialism again, Trotskyists specialized in separating laboring classes from the party and the revolutionary trade-unions through imposing harsh social-fascist bourgeois-authoritarian methods. In his brilliant Works, comrade Stalin accurately noted this. When reflecting about divergences between Bolsheviks and Trotskyists, the 4th Classic of Marxism-Leninism declared something which illustrates very well Trotskyist policies concerning trade-unions, but which can also be applied to any other sphere of activity:

“Our disagreements are about questions of the *means* by which to strengthen labor discipline in the working class, the *methods* of approach to the mass of the workers who are being drawn into the work of reviving industry, the *ways* of transforming the present weak trade unions into powerful, genuinely industrial unions, capable of reviving our industry. There are two methods: the method of *coercion* (the military method), and the method of *persuasion* (the trade-union method). The first method by no means precludes elements of persuasion, but these are subordinate to the requirements of the coercion method and are auxiliary to the latter. The second method, in turn, does not preclude elements of coercion, but these are subordinate to the requirements of the persuasion method and are auxiliary to the latter. It is just as impermissible to confuse these two methods as it is to confuse the army with the working class.

A group of Party workers headed by Trotsky, intoxicated by the successes achieved by military methods in the army, supposes that those methods can, and must, be

adopted among the workers, in the trade unions, in order to achieve similar successes in strengthening the unions and in reviving industry. But this group forgets that the army and the working class are two different spheres, that a method that is suitable for the army may prove to be unsuitable, harmful, for the working class and its trade unions.”
(http://ciml.250x.com/archive/stalin/english/stalinworks_05.pdf, *Our Disagreements, Two Methods of Approach to the Masses of Workers*, 1921, in: Stalin, *Works*, Volume 5, 1947, Moscow, pp. 4-15, edition in English)

Therefore, as can be observed, Trotskyists are the ones who, just like the Maoists, attempt to impose their social-fascist dominance over workers and trade-unions resorting to bourgeois-authoritarian, repressive and military measures. Again, the Chinese revisionists meet with Trotsky. Trotsky said in 1920 that "... the mass of workers must be moved and commanded as soldiers." Trotsky described it the claim that forced labor is unproductive, as an "old bourgeois axiom that became a prejudice."

This characteristic of Trotskyist strategy and tactic had a very well defined purpose: to prevent the triumph of Bolshevik forces during Russian Civil War, thus avoiding socialist construction in Soviet Union. Comrade Stalin explained this:

“(...) democracy in the trade unions is mere declamation, a fashion, called forth by certain phenomena in internal Party life, that, in time, people will get tired of “chatter” about democracy and everything will go on in the “old way.” Others believe that democracy in the trade unions is, essentially, a concession, a forced concession, to the workers’ demands, that it is diplomacy rather than real, serious business. Needless to say, both groups of comrades are profoundly mistaken. Democracy in the trade unions, i.e., what is usually called “normal methods of proletarian democracy in the unions,” is the conscious democracy characteristic of mass working-class organisations, which presupposes *consciousness* of the necessity and utility of systematically employing methods of persuasion among the millions of workers organised in the trade unions. If that consciousness is absent, democracy becomes an empty sound.

While war was raging and danger stood at the gates, the appeals to “aid the front” that were issued by our organisations met with a ready response from the workers, for the mortal danger we were in was only too palpable, for that danger had assumed a very concrete form evident to everyone in the shape of the armies of Kolchak, Yudenich, Denikin, Pilsudski and Wrangel, which were advancing and restoring the power of the landlords and capitalists. It was not difficult to rouse the masses at that time. But today, when the war danger has been overcome and the new, economic danger (economic ruin) is far from being so palpable to the masses, the broad masses cannot be roused merely by appeals. Of course, everybody feels the shortage of bread and textiles; but firstly, people do contrive to obtain both bread and textiles in one way or another and, consequently, the danger of a food and goods famine does not spur the masses to the same extent as the war danger did; secondly, nobody will assert that the masses are as conscious of the reality of

the economic danger (shortage of locomotives and of machines for agriculture, for textile mills and iron and steel plants, shortage of equipment for electric power stations, and so forth) as they were of the war danger in the recent past. To rouse the millions of the working class for the struggle against economic ruin it is necessary to heighten their initiative, consciousness and independent activity; it is necessary by means of concrete facts to *convince* them that economic ruin is just as real and mortal a danger as the war danger was yesterday; it is necessary to draw millions of workers into the work of reviving industry through the medium of trade unions built on democratic lines. Only in this way is it possible to make the entire working class vitally interested in the struggle which the economic organisations are waging against economic ruin. If this is not done, victory on the economic front cannot be achieved.

In short, conscious democracy, the method of proletarian democracy in the unions, is the only correct method for the industrial unions. Forced “democracy” has nothing in common with this democracy. Reading Trotsky’s pamphlet *The Role and Tasks of the Trade Unions*, one might think that he, in essence, is “also” in favour of the “democratic” method. This has caused some comrades to think that we do not disagree about the methods of work in the trade unions. But that is absolutely wrong, for Trotsky’s “democracy” is forced, half-hearted and unprincipled, and, as such, merely supplements the military-bureaucratic method, which is unsuitable for the trade unions.” (http://ciml.250x.com/archive/stalin/english/stalinworks_05.pdf, *Our Disagreements, Two Methods of Approach to the Masses of Workers*, 1921, in: Stalin, *Works*, Volume 5, 1947, Moscow, pp. 4-15, edition in English)

Indeed, now focusing in the subject of trade-unions, the Maoists of the “C” PC always defended positions very similar to those advocated by Trotskyists, and can be read in the Article 7 of the Party Statutes in 1973:

“State organs, the People’s Liberation Army and the People’s Militia, the labor unions, associations of poor and middle-poor farmers, women’s federations, the Youth League, the Communist Red Guards, the Little Red Guards and other revolutionary organizations mass must submit, without exception, to the unified leadership of the Party.” (*Statuts du Parti communiste chinois*, in XIe Congrès du Parti communiste chinois, 1973, translated from French language)

One may wonder what it means to separate the army from state organs, because any Stalinist-Hoxhaist knows that the army is among the main government organs. But besides this, we see that the party leadership over mass organizations is legally fixed in the same way that the direction of the Party organizations over the state. This is nothing more than the resumption of the platform of Trotsky and Boukharin demanding:

“(...) that trade-unions must be transformed into units of the workers state.” (*Plate-forme Trotsky, Boukharine, etc.*, in KOLLONTAI (A.), *L’opposition ouvrière*, Paris, 1974, translated from French language)

Comrades Lenin and Stalin in particular, opposed the rapid nationalization of trade-unions, because, while acknowledging that the party must lead the trade-unions, they considered that it is no question of imposing the party leadership to the masses through administrative measures:

“Central and local organizations of the Communist Party should firmly direct the ideological aspect of the trade-union work. Communist fractions within trade-unions obeyed faithfully to the Party’s organizations under the special decisions of the Tenth Congress of the Party. It is obvious that the choice of the executive staff of the labor movement must take place under the control of the Party. But Party organs should pay special attention to the normal methods of proletarian democracy in trade-unions, where choice of leadership must be done by the organized masses themselves.” (Lenin and Stalin cited in: *Plate-forme des Dix*, in KOLLONTAI (A.), *L'opposition ouvrière*, Paris, 1974, translated from French language)

Thus, accordingly with the 3rd and 4th Classics of Marxism-Leninism, Party leadership should not be formally in the texts, but it would instead result of the work developed by the communists among the working masses. Trotsky, on the contrary, demanded that trade-unions should be quickly converted into state agencies, imposing its management over the masses. We see that this bureaucratic concept was taken by the Chinese revisionists/Maoists, and this is no coincidence, because deviations from proletarian democracy result inevitably in bureaucratic consequences. Those who – like the Maoists and Trotskyists – are constantly talking about “democracy” and about “struggle against bureaucracy” often prove to be the worst anti-socialist, pro-capitalist and pro-bourgeois bureaucrats.

It is now obvious that, just like Maoists, also Trotskyists always tried to impose repressive social-fascist measures against the proletariat, workers and other exploited and oppressed classes with the aim of controlling them in benefit of their pro-bourgeois-capitalist aims. Like all other revisionists, both Trotskyists and Maoists are definitively against proletarian dictatorship and of armed revolutionary violence, but entirely in favor of their own bourgeois-capitalist social-fascist tyrannical domination.

Maoism is the revisionist and anti-communist ideology of Chinese national bourgeoisie in search for state power and imperialist ascension. At the same time, Maoism provided Chinese national bourgeoisie with the ideological weapon which allowed it to avoid socialist revolution and the establishment of proletarian dictatorship while keeping Chinese toiling classes away from Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism.

And Trotskyism was the revisionist and anti-communist ideology of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois pro-capitalist elements inside Soviet Union and of world imperialist class interests outside Soviet Union – united in the same goal of undermining Bolshevik revolution, of preventing socialist construction and proletarian dictatorship. Trotskyism and Maoism are ideologies intended not only to perpetuate capitalism-imperialism wherever it exists but also to restore capitalism-imperialism wherever it has been destroyed by socialist revolution. And last not least, Trotskyism and Maoism are

ideologies against the revolutionary restoration of socialism on a national and global scale.

In our previous chapters of DWM and also in other texts, we described and analyzed the process and manners through which Maoist/Chinese revisionism led China on the capitalist-imperialist path, keeping it away from socialism.

However, Trotskyists try to depict themselves as « authentic defenders of socialism » in supposed contrast with Maoist « Stalinists » which would have ensured capitalist perpetuation in China. While insisting in the lie that there was once socialism in China (with the aim of disgusting workers from socialism through depicting it as synonym of Maoist bourgeois-reactionary tyranny and repression), Trotskyists remark that:

« The first ‘Red State’ in Jiangxi (1931-34, capital Ruijin), where (...) the basic institutions and security apparatus had been put in place by Chou En-lai, was a state based on the extraction of the maximum surplus from the local population, to support the Communist apparatus and military machine.” (<http://internationalviewpoint.npa2009.org/spip.php?article856>, *Mao in Question*, 2005, edition in English)

And relatively to more recent times, they state:

“The CCP’s crack down crushed all opposition to capitalist reform (...).” (<http://internationalviewpoint.npa2009.org/spip.php?article1701>, *End of a Model...or Birth of a New One?*, 2009, edition in English)

This apparent concern of the Trotskyists with “capitalist reform and integration” does not hold any water. In truth, Trotskyism is as pro-capitalist, pro-bourgeois and pro-imperialist as Maoism. Comrade Stalin never failed to clearly affirm:

“What is the essence of Trotskyism?

The essence of Trotskyism is, above all, the denial of the possibility of building socialism in the USSR by the forces of the working class and the peasantry of our country. What does this mean? It means that if, in the near future, the victorious world revolution does not happen, we will have to surrender to the bourgeoisie (...).

Thus, what we have here is bourgeois denial of the possibility of building socialism in our country (...). Can we, with such ideas, convince the masses of the working class in order to inculcate them with enthusiasm at work, with socialist emulation, and with an wide offensive deployed against the capitalist elements? Of course not. It would be absurd to believe that our working class, who made three revolutions, would develop enthusiasm for work with the sole purpose of preparing the ground for capitalism.” (Stalin, *Rapport du Comité central au XVIe congrès du Parti communiste de l'U.R.S.S.*, 1930, translated from French language)

“In fact, Trotskyism is a vanguard detachment of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, which is leading the fight against communism, against Soviet power, against the building of socialism in the USSR. Who provided the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie with a spiritual weapon against Bolshevism, with a thesis on the impossibility of building socialism in our country, the inevitable regular degeneration of the Bolsheviks, etc? This weapon was provided by Trotskyism.”
(Stalin, *Sur quelques questions de l'histoire du bolchévisme*, in: *La Révolution prolétarienne*, n° 6 (113), 1931, translated from French language)

As can be concluded, and like also occurs with Soviet revisionists’ “anti-Maoism”, Trotskyist “criticisms” against Maoism are only intended to hide their own social-fascist and anti-communist nature in order to, once more, put world proletarians and working classes in a false “dilemma” of choice between two branches of revisionism whose character and goals are the same.

And of course, we can never forget that even when Maoist revisionists and Trotskyist revisionists seem to defend different positions, this is merely apparent, because in what respects to the division of communist movement they always agree and complement each other (just like also occurs between Maoist revisionism / Chinese revisionism and all the other kinds of false “anti-Maoism” – as they are all, without exception, essentially equal and share the very same pro-bourgeois-capitalist-imperialist, pro-wage slavery, reactionary, social-fascist, revisionist, neo-revisionist and anti-communist objectives). This is proved by the fact that, besides their false “anti-Maoist” shibboleths, Trotskyists themselves affirm that they are ready to unite and ally even with their “Maoist enemies” if the necessities of anti-Stalinist strategy and tactics demand it. In 1961, on occasion of the VI Congress of the “Fourth International” (Trotskyist), they affirmed that “The positions of the Communist Party of China (...) display many possibilities of allowing the opening of common work with us, like it was never possible in the past.” In face of this and of everything we have been noting, no more additional comments are needed.

2.3 – Maoism and Titoism: false enemies



Tito with the Chinese revisionists

Another revisionist current that also has been presented as “opposed” to Maoism is Titoism. In 1948, Titoist revisionism can be considered as the first revisionism in power, several years before Khrushchev takeover in Soviet Union and also before Maoist seizure of power in China.

Titoists always attempted at depicting themselves as “anti-Stalinist fighters for true self-administrative workers’ socialism” which would supposedly represent “the genuine essence of Marxism-Leninism”. There are still many Titoists around the world who reach the point of affirming that “Yugoslav socialism was the best political regime that ever existed, because it combined the best parts of both socialism and liberalism.” This alone should suffice to show Titoists’ real nature as dangerous anti-socialists.

Liberalism is always anti-socialism, and it is not possible to reconcile it with socialism, neither to “take advantage of both” because wherever there is liberalism, there can never be socialism, just like wherever there is bourgeois dictatorship, there can never be proletarian dictatorship. And that was just the case with Titoist social-fascist Yugoslavia: it was always and remained a dictatorship of the bourgeois class of compradore type which promoted capitalist wage slavery, oppression and exploitation while selling the country to American/Western imperialism. Albanian Marxists-Leninists with comrade

Enver at their head understood since very early what kind of “Marxist-Leninist” Tito was and what kind of “socialism” the Titoists were implementing in Yugoslavia. In the already mentioned book “Yugoslav Self-Administration: capitalist theory and practice” and also in “The Titoistes”, in “Imperialism and the Revolution”, in “Euro-communism is anti-communism”, etc. comrade Enver irrefutably proved the entirely bourgeois-capitalist, social-fascist, neo-colonial, pro-imperialist and anti-communist nature of Titoist revisionist Yugoslavia through an outstanding profound analysis of the country’s structure and superstructure, of its relations of production and material socio-economic basis and political-ideological order. Therefore, there is no need for us to make another analysis of this issue. We will only present here some excerpts from comrade Enver that we find to be very informative about this issue:

“Titoism is an old agency of capital, a favourite weapon of the imperialist bourgeoisie in its fight against socialism and the liberation movements. The peoples of Yugoslavia fought self-sacrificingly against the nazi-fascist occupiers: for freedom democracy and socialism. They succeeded in liberating their country, but were not allowed to continue the revolution on the road to socialism. The Yugoslav revisionist leadership with Tito at the head, which had long been worked on secretly by the Intelligence Service and which, during the period of the war, posed as preserving the features of a party of the Third International, in fact, had other aims, which were contrary to Marxism-Leninism and the aspirations of the peoples of Yugoslavia for the construction of a true socialist society in Yugoslavia.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which came to power, had inherited many mistakes of a deviationist nature. After the Second World War, it displayed pronounced national-chauvinist features, which had shown up as early as the time of the war. These features were apparent in its departure from the Marxist-Leninist ideology, in its attitude towards the Soviet Union and Stalin, in its chauvinist stands and actions towards Albania, etc.

(...) The Titoites were not for the construction of socialism, or for the Communist Party of Yugoslavia to be guided by the Marxist-Leninist theory, and they did not accept the dictatorship of the proletariat. This was the source of the conflict that broke out between the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. This was an ideological conflict between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, and not a conflict between persons over domination, as the revisionists try to make out. Stalin defended the purity of the Marxist-Leninist theory, Tito defended the deviationist, revisionist, anti-Marxist trend of modern revisionism, following in the footstep of Browder and the other opportunists, who emerged on the eve of and during the Second World War. (...)

In fact, the Titoites were not, and could not be, for the socialist social order or the form of organization of the Soviet state, because Tito was for the capitalist system and for an essentially bourgeois-democratic state, in which his clique would hold power. This state was to serve to create the idea that socialism was being built in Yugoslavia, a "specific" socialism of a "more humane type", that is, precisely the

kind of "socialism" which would serve as a fifth column in the other socialist countries. Everything was well calculated and co-ordinated by the Anglo-American imperialists and the group around Tito. (...)

Within a relatively short time Yugoslavia became the "socialist" mouthpiece of US imperialism, a diversionist agency to assist world capital. From 1948 to this day, Titoism has been characterized by feverish activity against Marxism - Leninism to organize a propaganda campaign everywhere in the world to present the Yugoslav system as the form of a "genuine socialist" order, a "new society", a "non-aligned socialism", which is no longer like the socialism Lenin and Stalin built in the Soviet Union, but a socialist order "with a human face" which is being tried for the first time in the world and which is yielding "brilliant results". The aim of this propaganda has always been to lead the peoples and progressive forces fighting for freedom and independence everywhere in the world up a blind alley. (...)

Titoism has always been a weapon of the imperialist bourgeoisie, a fire-extinguisher to quell the flames of the revolution. It is of the same line and has the same aims as modern revisionism, in general, and its different variants, with which it is in ideological unity. The ways, forms and tactics they use in the struggle against Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism may be different, but their counterrevolutionary aims are identical." (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

"Such a situation was also encouraged by the capitalist states which had taken the Titoite regime under their wing in order to give Yugoslavia a capitalist orientation. Profiting from this state of affairs, the various imperialists were competing with each other in their efforts to get a tighter grip on this corrupt state so that, together with the credits they provided, they could also impose their political, ideological and organisational views. (...) If the Yugoslav economy has made some steps forward in its development this is in no way due to the system of "self-administration", as the Titoite revisionists try to claim for themselves. Large amounts of capital from the capitalist world in the form of investments, credits and "aid" have been poured into Yugoslavia and this constitutes a considerable part of the material base of the Yugoslav capitalist-revisionist system. The debts alone amount over 11 billion dollars. Alone from the United States of America, Yugoslavia has received over 7 billion dollars in credits." (Enver Hoxha, *Yugoslav "Self-Administration" - Capitalist Theory and Practice*, edition in English)

"The Yugoslav system has been reduced to bad shape, the development of events has torn down all masks and dispelled all illusions. The external pompous appearances, the misleading advertisements of a well-being such as can be found in no other place»(!), of a «Yugoslavia of freedom and abundance» (!) have left the place to all-round crisis, poverty and growing unemployment, galloping inflation, and increasing shortages of even the most essential goods and articles of broad consumption, etc. Just as they did with Tito in his last breath, the imperialists and social-imperialists are doing their utmost to give the Yugoslav system a new lease of

life, to keep it alive, although this system is wholly gangrened. No blood transfusion, either from Washington, Moscow or whatever international bank or fund, can save it. This is the logical end of all revisionist theory and practice. The imperialist and social-imperialist creditors take the money from their safes, not because they want to help the peoples of Yugoslavia out of their misery, but because they want to protect their political and economic interest in Yugoslavia, to expand or consolidate the domains Tito has long ago sold them in return for the credits he has received from them. But if for a period of time it seemed as if Yugoslavia was to gain in this dangerous game, now .the time has come for Yugoslavia to put itself up for auction to the imperialists and social-imperialists. A first-class borrower, shaken to its very foundations in all respects, with no clear perspective, without the necessary means and forces to find the road of salvation - such is the present-day Titoiste self-administrative Yugoslavia. (...) Quite the, opposite is the case with our country, with our course, of the construction of socialism. Consistently applying the Marxist-Leninist principles in the construction and leadership of the entire life of the country, socialist Albania has marched with sure steps ahead, without holding its hand out to anyone.” (Enver Hoxha, *The Titoistes*, Tirana, 1982, edition in English)

Since before comrade Stalin’s death, Albanian communists always waged a fierce struggle against Titoist revisionism. They had experimented Titoists’ true colours even during the Liberation War against Nazi-fascist invaders, when Titoite imperialism which tried to transform Albania in the seventh Yugoslav republic. From the very beginning, the Titoites always tried to hinder Albania’s independence. They tried through all means to control the Albanian partisans and to subjugate them to the orders and discipline of the Yugoslav Communist Party. The Titoites were always interfering in the internal affairs of the PLA and trying to impose their anti-Marxist line. They hired agents and spies and infiltrated them within the PLA in order to sabotage its Leninist line and to turn Albania into a Yugoslav neo-colonial satellite.

Indeed, one of the reasons why the PLA of comrade Enver was always so successful in the struggle against all kinds of revisionisms and neo-revisionisms was related with the conditions of its struggle during the first times of its existence. Contrary to what occurred with other parties, the PLA had to face Titoist intrigue and reactionary anti-socialist manipulations and attacks. The PLA’s formation and configuration as an existing Leninist-Stalinist Party inherently includes an uninterrupted combat against the first branch of modern revisionism – Titoism - which was on the verge of conquering power and which exercised its evil influence over Albania. It can be considered that anti-revisionist struggle could have never failed to be in PLA’s very own DNA. And thanks to their faithful following of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, thanks to their correct application of it, Albanian comrades led by Enver were able to triumph over Titoist machinations and to clear the path to the establishment of proletarian dictatorship and to socialist construction in their country.

Shortly after Titoists had their bourgeois-capitalist and anti-communist nature unmasked also by comrade Stalin and by the Cominform, another perilous current of revisionism openly emerged: Maoism. The roots of Maoist revisionism can be found much before

1949 Chinese bourgeois-capitalist “revolution”, but only in that year it managed to impose itself as a relevant revisionism after having seized power in China. Contrary to Titoism, which explicitly defended and promoted anti-Stalinism, in the first years after 1949, Maoists preferred to keep their “orthodox Stalinist” masks in order to better mislead workers about its veritable anti-communist character. Therefore, until some years after comrade Stalin’s death, Maoists had to pretend to “condemn Titoist revisionism”, because if they didn’t do this, their own revisionist and opportunist face would be immediately perceivable by world labouring classes.

After comrade Stalin died, Soviet revisionists started talking about “rehabilitating Tito” and about “re-establishing relations with Yugoslavia” (with the purpose of transforming it into one more neo-colonial satellite, an objective which was failed because Yugoslavia would always be predominantly a neo-colony of Western and later also of Chinese imperialism). But Titoist Yugoslavia was so obviously anti-socialist and Titoist ideology was so obviously revisionist that world proletarians, workers and other exploited and oppressed classes as well as many honest communists who defended comrade Stalin’s correct path soon demonstrated their anger and discontentment with this.

At that moment, with their usual manipulative coldness, Maoist revisionists took advantage of all this and depicted themselves as being “genuine Marxists-Leninists struggling against Khrushchevist and Titoist revisionisms”. And unfortunately, many of those disagreeing with the pro-capitalist policies of Soviet revisionists believed them and thought that by siding with Maoist China they would be really defending true socialism against revisionism. In other documents, we had already explained that this was never the case and that Maoist China never had anything to do with socialism. Now, we will only present some excerpts of Maoist “anti-Titoist” phraseology:

“(…) there are fundamental differences of opinion between the leaders of the CPSU, on the one hand, and ourselves and all other Marxist-Leninists, on the other. All Marxist-Leninists hold that Yugoslavia is not a socialist country. The leading clique of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has betrayed Marxism-Leninism and the Yugoslav people and consists of renegades from the international communist movement and lackeys of imperialism.”

(<http://www.marxists.org/history/international/comintern/sino-soviet-split/cpc/yugoslavia.htm>, *Is Yugoslavia a Socialist country?*, 1963, edition in English)

In the same text, Maoists also present some of the “arguments” used by the Titoists:

“Under the pretext of opposing "Stalinism", the Tito clique is peddling revisionist poison everywhere and opposing revolution by the people in all countries.”

(<http://www.marxists.org/history/international/comintern/sino-soviet-split/cpc/yugoslavia.htm>, *Is Yugoslavia a Socialist country?*, 1963, edition in English)

At the first sight, it could seem that Chinese positions regarding Titoism are correct. However, as we stated, these were not authentic Marxist-Leninist positions. At the same time, Titoists were qualifying Maoists as “Stalinists” in order to discredit them among

those workers who fell on anti-Stalinist traps and believed in Titoist and Khrushchevist anti-Stalinist lies. They had a lot of interest in discrediting Maoism, as Titoists understood very well that it was one more revisionist current rivalling with their own for the preferences of world bourgeois class to be used as instrument to keep toilers away from MLSh.

But, like we already proved, just like there are not any kind of substantial differences between Soviet / Khrushchevist revisionism and Maoist revisionism, also there are not any kind of essential differences or “disagreements” between Titoist revisionism and Maoist revisionism. This can be concluded after a somewhat attentive research.

For example, during comrade Enver’s only visit to China, he took noticed of the similar positions of Maoists and Titoists. When Mao asked Comrade Enver what he thought about Stalin, Enver proudly defended Stalin’s glorious legacy. However, Mao disagreed with him and said:

“Stalin made mistakes. He made mistakes towards us, for example, in 1927. He made mistakes towards the Yugoslav comrades, too.” (Mao cited by Enver Hoxha in *The Khrushchevites*, Tirana, 1980, edition in English)

This affirmation is totally false, comrade Stalin was never mistaken towards Yugoslav “comrades”. On the contrary, he unmasked their true character and objectives, thus making proof of a great Marxist-Leninist wisdom, and he also acted correctly towards Titoite Yugoslavia. As comrade Enver remarked:

“ (Stalin) long ago realized what the views of Mao Tsetung were, and saw that (...) they were Titoite revisionist views, both on international policy and on internal policy, on the class struggle, on the dictatorship of the proletariat, on peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems, etc.” (Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China, Volume II*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

So, as can be observed, comrade Stalin had noticed the striking similarities between Titoism and Maoism since very early. If comrade Stalin had not died by that time, it is crystal clear that Mao and the Chinese revisionists would have surely received the same treatment of Tito and the Yugoslav revisionists. And comrade Enver is not the only affirming this. Mao Zedong himself admits that:

“Since the beginning of the war, Stalin was very skeptical towards us. When we won the war, Stalin perceived our victory as being of the same kind of that of Tito, and in 1949 he exercised a very strong pression upon us.” (Mao Zedong, *Oeuvres choisies, Tome V*, translated from French language)

"To the Chinese it was Stalin, who was wrong, and not Tito." (Enver Hoxha, ["Reflections on China", Volume 2](#), page 170)

These are the original words of Mao Zedong:

“Tito was not wrong, but Stalin was wrong.” (Enver Hoxha, ["Reflections on China", Volume 2](#), page 165)

The Titoites must be combated and repudiated by all genuine communists because they totally betrayed the aspirations of the Yugoslav peoples, who fought and sacrificed their lives in the struggle against Nazi-fascism with the objective of edification of a socialist Yugoslavia where proletarian dictatorship would be a reality. Unfortunately, Tito and his clique sold the country to Anglo-American / Western imperialism and followed a bourgeois-revisionist-capitalist line.

Another characteristic common to both Maoism and Titoism is their pathological love for the dictatorship of American imperialist bourgeoisie inside and outside USA, as well as for its enslaving credits, capitals and “aids”. Relatively to Maoist revisionists, comrade Enver accurately noticed:

“These "new theses and conclusions", this "Chinese form" of Marxism had nothing at all to do with any creative application of Marxism Leninism in the concrete conditions of China but were a denial of its universal fundamental laws. Mao Zedong and his comrades had a bourgeois democratic concept of the development of the revolution in China. They were not for raising it to a socialist revolution. For them the model was the "American democracy" and they reckoned on the support of American capital for the construction of new China. (...) Browder wrote: "What is called the 'Communist' camp in China, because it is led by outstanding members of the Chinese Communist Party, is much closer to American concepts of democracy than is the so-called Kuomintang camp; it is closer in every way, including the wider scope given to 'free enterprise' in the economic life (E. Browder, *Teheran, Our Path in War and Peace*, New York 1944, p.26) (...)

Mao Zedong considered American democracy the finest example of state and social organization for China. Mao Zedong admitted to Service: "After all, we Chinese consider you Americans the ideal of democracy." Along with their acceptance of American democracy, the Chinese leaders sought the establishment of close and direct links with American capital, sought American economic aid. Service writes that Mao Zedong told him, "China must industrialize. This can be done in China only by free enterprise and with the aid of foreign capital. Chinese and American interests are correlated and similar..." "The United States would find us more cooperative than the Kuomintang. We will not be afraid of democratic American influence, we will welcome it... "America does not need to fear that we will not be co-operative. We must co-operate and we must have American help (J. Service, *Lost Chance in China*, New York 1974, p.307)." (Enver Hoxha, *Eurocommunism is Anti-communism*, Tirana, 1980, edition in English)

And this is what comrade Enver remarked about Titoist revisionists:

“(...) the views of the Titoites (are) also in their stand towards "American democracy" which the Titoites took as a model for the construction of the political system in Yugoslavia. Kardelj himself has admitted that this system is "... similar to the organization of the executive power in the United States of America". (E. Kardelj, *Directions of the Development of the Political System of Socialist Self-administration*, Rilindja, Prishtina 1978, p.235)

Following the liquidation of the party and the break with the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy, Yugoslavia has been writhing in a chaos of economic-organizational operations. The Titoites proclaimed the state property "social" property, and camouflaged the capitalist relations of production under the anarcho-syndicalist slogan of "factories to the workers", and set the detachments of the working class one against the other. The collectivization of small producers was called the "Russian way" and was opposed with the "American way" of the creation of capitalist farms and the encouragement of private peasant economies.” (Enver Hoxha, *Eurocommunism is Anti-communism*, Tirana, 1980, edition in English)

So, open eulogize for so-called “American democracy” is something that Maoism and Titoism have in common. We will not make an analysis of the political-socio-economic nature of American bourgeois-imperialist dictatorship, because this is not in the scope of this article. We will only remark that its defense is inevitably synonym of anti-communist character and automatically excludes genuine MLSh.

And of course, behind their “love USA” slogans, Maoists and Titoists have very well defined aims. The first ones relied on American imperialist capitals to launch China’s own imperialist ascension while the main economic sectors and means of production were kept in the hands of Chinese bourgeoisie to prevent that American imperialists could also turn China into their neo-colony and thwart the social-imperialist plans of Chinese revisionist bourgeoisie. The second ones were hands and feet tied to American / Western imperialists. If Titoists displeased them, the neo-colonialist control that American imperialist bourgeoisie held over Titoist Yugoslavia was so intense that Titoist clique would be easily overthrown by them and Tito’s new Yugoslav bourgeoisie would lose all class privileges and profits in had won through refusing Marxism-Leninism and preventing proletarian dictatorship and socialist construction.

And this was not the only occasion when the likenesses between Titoism and Maoism can be noted. Also between Maoist “three world theory” and Titoist “non-aligned theory” the similarities are striking. Both the «third world theory» and the «non-aligned theory» aim at keeping proletarians, workers and other exploited and oppressed classes away from MLSh in order to perpetuate capitalist-imperialist bondage and wage slavery. These “theories” were fabricated by the revisionists and they replace classes by abstract notions of “non-aligned nations” and “third world nations”. During the first stage of “socialism in a single country”, they spread misunderstanding and tried to erase the distinction that must exist between a bourgeois “anti-imperialist” and “anti-colonial” revolution and a genuine socialist revolution (and whose assimilation and confusion we, Marxists-Leninists, firmly refuse) by depicting all them as being exactly the same with the goal of

having the struggle of exploited and oppressed peoples stopped half-way before advancing to the fulfillment of socialist stages, before it starts truly menacing bourgeois-capitalist political-socio-economic basis, structure and superstructure.

They depicted every “undeveloped” and neo-colonial country as being “socialist”, no matter if they were ruled by the most bloodthirsty reactionaries at the service of world capitalism-imperialism. And the same can be said relatively to the “non-aligned world movement” – to which even Suharto’s Indonesia belonged, a country which was a veritable American neo-colony where workers were being slaughtered by the millions. In other articles, we have already explained all this with many details and accompanied by confirmative quotations from the Classics. We will only recall the words from the Albanian communists, who noted that the “non-aligned theory”, just like the “third world theory”:

“(...) aims at deviating peoples from the genuine struggle against American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism and at presenting as being “progressive” and “democratic” those reactionary cliques and leaders who are open lackeys of imperialism and of neo-colonialism.” (PLA, *VIIIe Congrès de l'Union des Femmes d'Albanie*, Tirana, 1978, translated from French language)

This is how the authentic Marxist-Leninist characterized the objective role played by bourgeois-capitalist anti-socialist “third world” and “non-aligned” theories.

And comrade Enver Hoxha also recognized the similarities between expansionist policies of Titoist Yugoslavia and Maoist China towards other countries and peoples by qualifying them:

“(...) as a reactionary act from great power positions, an act which is a repetition, in content and form, of the savage and chauvinistic methods of Tito, Khrushchev and Brezhnev which China, also, once condemned.” (<http://ciml.250x.com/archive/hoxha/english/pla/letter78.html>, *Letter of the PLA and of the Government of Albania to the CC of the Communist Party of China and to the Ste Council of the People’s Republic of China*, 1978, edition in English)

Moreover, with his usual implacable Leninist-Stalinist wisdom, comrade Enver reminds us that:

“The present Chinese leaders want to march together with the Yugoslav revisionists and co-ordinate their actions with them in the struggle against Marxism-Leninism and all the Marxist-Leninist parties, against the revolution, socialism and communism. Mao Tsetung and the Communist Party of China have maintained a pragmatic stand towards Yugoslav revisionism and have made a great evolution in their views about Tito and Titoism. At first, Mao Tsetung said that Tito was not wrong, but it was Stalin who had been wrong about Tito. Then the same Mao Tsetung ranks Tito with Hitler and Chiang Kai-shek and says that “such people... as Tito, Hitler, Chiang Kaishek and the Czar cannot be corrected, they should be

killed". However, he changed his stand again and expressed his great desire to meet Tito. Tito himself declared recently: "I was invited to China when Mao Tsetung was alive. During the visit of the Chairman of the Federal Executive Veche, Djemal Myedich, to China, at that time, Mao Tsetung expressed to him his desire that I should visit China.

Chairman Hua Kuofeng also told me that, five years ago, Mao Tsetung said that he should have invited me for a visit, stressing that in 1948, too, Yugoslavia was in the right, a thing which he (Mao Tsetung) had declared even then, to a narrow circle. But, taking into consideration the relations between China and the Soviet Union at that time, this was not said publicly" (From Tito's speech at the meeting of activists of the SR of Slovenia, September 8, 1978). The revisionist leadership of China is loyally carrying out this "will" of Mao Tsetung. Hua Kuo-feng seized the opportunity of Tito's visit to China, and especially of his own visit to Yugoslavia, to eulogize Tito, to present him as a "distinguished Marxist-Leninist", a "great leader" not only of Yugoslavia but also of the international communist movement.

In this way the Chinese leadership also openly endorsed all the attacks of the Titoites on Stalin and the Bolshevik Party, on the Party of Labour of Albania, the international communist movement and Marxism-Leninism." (Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

In fact, after having played the game of "irreconcilable opposites", Titoists and Maoists decided that perhaps their aims could be better accomplished by trying to penetrate each other's "area of influence". The friendly relationship of Maoist China with Yugoslavia and the betrayal at the correct anti-Titoist struggle of comrade Enver's Albania after that prove this. On one side, as comrade Enver's mentioned quotations and books clearly declare, Titoist Yugoslavia was a mere neo-colony of world imperialists, it was totally dependent on its enslaving credits to survive. When Chinese Maoist bourgeoisie started to pave the way of its social-imperialist ascension, Titoists understood very well that it was time to put aside the masquerade of the "ideological divergences" and start to please and praise Chinese social-imperialists in order to get some needed credits from them. On the other side, Chinese social-imperialist monopolist bourgeois class also found interest in ceasing the "ideological polemics" (which in truth never existed...) with Titoists, even because Chinese bourgeoisie was engaged in constructing and expanding their own world camp in benefit of their social-imperialist and anti-communist aims and policies of maximum profits through exploitation of workforce and resources. Chinese revisionists concluded that a good manner to conquer Titoist Yugoslavia to their camp was through appearing as its "friends" and through invading it with their neo-colonialist "credits" in order to attach the country with their social-imperialist "aids" and to entirely control the country's political-socio-economic sectors. In this manner, through attempting at dominating and controlling Titoist Yugoslavia, Chinese revisionist and social-imperialist bourgeois class not only was able to combat there the rivalry of American /Western imperialism (with which it always had inevitable contradictions, in spite of their anti-Soviet "alliance") also tried to dominate and control the so-called "non-aligned world" of which Tito's Yugoslavia appeared as "the main representative" and to include it in their

own Maoist “third world” camp, thus putting an end to the competition of a rival revisionist camp (in previous chapters of DWM and in other articles, we have also already exposed and unmasked the aims and character of the “non-aligned” and “three world” anti-socialist theories). These were the reasons behind the “great honours” with which the reactionary Tito was always received by the Chinese revisionists:

“The first news from Peking says that Tito arrived there by special aircraft. At the airport he was welcomed by Hua Kuofeng, Ten Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien and many other «outstanding» Chinese leaders, as well as by thousands and thousands of citizens of Peking, singing and beating gongs. Along the whole 30 kilometres from the airport to the city the road was packed with people who cheered for the «hero» Tito, while in Tien An Men Square, a hundred thousand dancers, dressed in national costumes and carrying all sorts of flowers, placards and what have you, had been assembled.

Those who are turning on such a resounding welcome for this renegade from Marxism-Leninism are such pseudo-Marxists that they have made themselves door-mats for him. The bourgeois leaders never demean themselves the way these revisionists do. They are making themselves a laughing stock by displaying such lack of dignity.” (Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China, Volume II*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

And Tito was also perceived by the Chinese as a valuable tool in encouraging the American imperialists not only to side with revisionist China against social-imperialist Soviet Union but also to keep “investing” their “credits” and capitals there, so that Chinese bourgeoisie could take advantage of them to its own social-imperialist path. Comrade Enver noted that:

“Tito is continuing his triumphal tour of China. In Hangchow and especially in Shanghai, he received a majestic welcome from hundreds of thousands of people, including the acrobats who gave performances in the streets at the time he was passing. As always, this time, too, Tito, an agent of American imperialism, is continuing the work of Nixon and Kissinger and tightening the bolts of the bridge between China and the United States of America. (...)

At the same time as Tito landed in Belgrade, the minister of agriculture of China, who was going to Belgrade to gain experience from the development of capitalist agriculture in Yugoslavia, landed from another aircraft. They will do the same thing in regard to «self-administration», too. The Chinese will send tens, or even hundreds of delegations to gain experience in everything, with the intention of applying this revisionist anarcho-syndicalist Titoite experience in China to the best of their ability, while maintaining the disguise that they are allegedly building socialism, just as Tito is doing, but a Chinese «specific socialism» like Yugoslav «specific socialism». The Chinese will do this because they are partners with Tito, and they will act in complete unity together with this renegade in the internal arena and in

the international arena.” (Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China, Volume II*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

In the end, both Maoist revisionists and Titoist revisionists were always united in their anti-socialist crusade, no matter if they once pretended to have “divergences”. They were and are always false enemies. Mao was nothing more than a new Tito. Indeed, Maoist “opposition” to Western imperialist powers and Soviet social-imperialism was only cyclical and influenced by their opposition to the emergence of a new rival: Tito could be the friend of the imperialist powers that had nothing to fear from his nationalist leanings (it mattered little to the imperialists that Tito brutally repressed the non-Serb peoples of Yugoslavia), but it was very different with Maoist China, whose geographic and demographic weight represented a danger if it could develop its economy in an imperialist direction.

Both Maoism and Titoism try to mislead the oppressed masses and to lead them away from the socialist and proletarian revolution, both propagate class reconciliation and incentive the supposed “positive aspects of capitalism” and the “mixed economy” (indeed, both open the path to social-imperialism, but Tito’s imperialism was limited to a local scale, while Maoist imperialism, due to China’s immense demographic and economic potential, reached a global scale).

2.4 – The false “anti-Maoism” of Mao’s successors in China



Mao with Deng Xiaoping

We will now analyze the phony “anti-Maoism” supposedly practiced by Mao Zedong’s successors in China.

In first place, and in order to better position ourselves when reflecting about this issue, we must note that since Mao’s death in 1976 and his subsequent replacement by Deng Xiaoping, the strategy relatively to this adopted by Maoist parties and organizations throughout the world can be mainly divided in two: the ones which still continue to present nowadays China as being «a socialist country» and the ones which argue that Deng Xiaoping and his successors are “traitors” to Mao’s “socialist line”. Within the so-called Maoist «movement», the second current is by far in the majority.

The first kind of Maoist organizations is becoming rare and it is easy to understand why: nowadays, the openly neo-colonialist nature and policies of Chinese imperialist bourgeoisie are completely explicit and obvious. The “leftist” and “progressive” appearance that Chinese social-fascism had during Mao’s epoch (when the power of the Chinese national bourgeoisie was still not fully consolidated, and consequently it needed “communistic” slogans in order to deceive Chinese laboring classes to keep them away from authentic socialist ideology and preventing genuine socialist revolution and proletarian dictatorship) begun to disappear when Deng Xiaoping came to power. Today’s China is an openly fascist dictatorship which bloodily represses proletarians, workers and other exploited and oppressed classes inside and outside China in benefit of the profits of the Chinese imperialist bourgeoisie. In spite of their decreasing numbers,

this kind of Maoist organizations still exist, in our DWM III we provided some examples of Maoist parties that can be included in this type.

However, the second kind of Maoist organizations undoubtedly includes most of them, with the majority of the Maoist parties attempting to draw a demarcation line between Mao's China (which was allegedly « socialist », « revolutionary » and even "Marxist-Leninist") and post-Mao China (which is fascist, reactionary and capitalist). This current is as revisionist and anti-socialist as the first one, but tries to cover its character through claiming the "purity of Maoism as the third development of Marxism-Leninism" and through the fake "denouncement" of what they call "the capitalist betrayal in China". Accordingly with this last current, Mao was "betrayed" by what these Maoists call "the rightist section of the CPC" or « the reactionaries ». Nearly all Maoist parties try to make this differentiation in order to deceive the laboring classes, making them believe that Mao was a true communist which was supposedly "betrayed" by its « reactionary successors » after his death. Therefore, they pretend to defend "Mao's socialist legacy" against capitalist development in China after Mao's death. Behind the "criticism of Deng Xiaoping", these Maoists today hide their own revisionism. They try to defend the "Marxist-Leninist" Mao Zedong against Mao's own revisionism. This second kind of Maoist organizations do its utmost to maintain a « orthodox » mask, some of them even affirming to be « defenders of comrade Stalin ». But taking into consideration the fact that it is not possible to defend comrade Stalin without defending comrade Enver, this « Stalinist » cloak falls apart because what they cannot avoid is their sick anti-Hoxhaism. They even reach the point of accusing comrade Enver of siding with Deng Xiaoping group allegedly due to the fact that "Enver Hoxha had not the clairvoyance to distinguish between Mao and his pro-capitalist and pro-imperialist successors who betrayed him". They also condemn comrade Enver for « not having supported the efforts of the Four to reestablish socialism » in China. We will not even waste time refuting these absurd affirmations, as the reactionary and anti-communist nature of Mao Zedong and of the Gang of the Four was already unmasked by us in this and in other texts.

So, while the other current openly defends Maoist China's imperialist, capitalist and anti-communist nature, recognizing that there were no substantial differences between Mao and his successors; the second current is much more hypocritical and treacherous, because it has a much more "revolutionary" and "hard-line Marxist" outlook that can make some honest workers believe that this is indeed a truly communist line. Indeed, it is not by chance that this trend is the dominant inside Maoist movement. World bourgeois class, which always promoted Maoist revisionism, also encourages this current precisely because it is the one which better deceives the world proletariat and which better convinces proletarians, workers and other exploited and oppressed classes to support a counter-revolutionary, social-fascist and anti-socialist ideology like Maoism.

This more frequent type of Maoist organizations therefore advocates that there was indeed some kind of substantial ideological difference between the « authentic socialist » Mao Zedong and his « capitalist-imperialist » successors. And these last ones also played their role in this « game » by « confirming » these false « divergences with Mao », namely that Mao Zedong would have committed « leftist sectarian deviationist mistakes » that

later Deng Xiaoping and the subsequent leaders would have «corrected ». In their official site, when referring to policies followed during Mao Zedong' lifetime, Mao's successors at the leadership of the social-fascist « C » PC state that:

«(...) this policy was not well implemented, leading to a series of subsequent mistakes and setbacks in the Party's guidance. (...) he wanted to correct the mistakes that had been found, but he erred (...) Mao Zedong made gross mistakes.» (<http://english.cpc.people.com.cn/66095/4468893.html>, *Mao's Life*, 2006, edition in English)

By displaying this pretended « anti-Maoism », Mao's successors in China continued their antecessor's mission of keeping toiling classes away from MLSH. And this because with their « anti-Maoism », they are deliberately fostering Mao's image as a «hard-line communist», which will be then presented by Maoist parties of the second type as a «proof» of Mao's supposed «authentically socialist character », because «if his capitalist and imperialist successors criticize him, that's because he was a true revolutionary and a true socialist» and « if they accuse Mao of being « leftist », that's because he was a true Marxist-Leninist while they were revisionists and social-fascists». It is indeed true that sometimes accusations of «leftist sectarianism» are directed by revisionists of all types against authentic Marxists-Leninists. This has already occurred many times. But this does not mean that it is always the case. And if we take a look at more documents and historic facts, we will inevitably conclude that, in this situation, in spite of the claimed «divergences», there were none between Mao and his successors. Far from having “betrayed” Mao (as for example, the reactionaries of the so-called «Marxist-Leninist-Maoist movement» claim – Mao's successors in China limited themselves to continue Mao's trajectory towards the transformation of bourgeois-capitalist China into a world imperialist neo-colonialist superpower.

We, Stalinist-Hoxhaists, know very well that there is no difference between Mao and his successors. Deng Xiaoping's fascist-imperialist clique was the logical, necessary and inevitable continuation of Mao's own bourgeois-capitalist and anti-socialist line:

“Mao Tsetung was neither willing nor able to take to heart the principles and standards of a Bolshevik party. This concerns again the handling of his successors. It was Mao Tsetung himself who decided first Liu Schao – tshi, then Deng Hsiao – ping, Lin Piao and then Hua Kuo – feng as chairmen of the party after his death – and this after all their revisionist crimes and betrayals! (...) In our opinion there is no essential demarcation line between the Chinese revisionism before and after the death of Mao Tsetung. The development of the Chinese socialimperialism and socialfascism of today is the logical consequence of the revisionist “Mao Tsetung Ideas”.” (Documents of the Comintern (Stalinists-Hoxhaists), *Neorevisionism or Leninism?*, 2004, edition in English)

And writing in December of 1977, thus already after Mao's death and during the epoch of his successors, comrade Enver referred to the course of the « C » PC since its beginning until that moment and remarked that:

« The Communist Party of China adopted only certain Marxist slogans and formulations, but in essence it was not a genuine party of the proletariat, a party of the revolution, which could secure the leadership in the democratic revolution and ensure its transformation into a proletarian revolution. In fact, within its ranks a series of anarchist and other theories and deviations developed. The whole development of China, from the formation of the party, from the foundation of the bourgeois-democratic republic of Sun Yatsen to this day shows this (...). » (Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China, Volume II*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

In the 40's Mao Zedong, the « hard-line leftist » and « genuine socialist », affirmed that:

“The first step or stage in our revolution is definitely (...) the establishment of a new democratic society under the joint dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes of China headed by the Chinese proletariat.” (...) It belongs to the new type of revolution (...) with the aim, in the first stage, of establishing a new-democratic society and a state under the joint dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes.” (Mao Zedong, *New Democracy*, 1940, edition in English)

This quotation alone is proof of the bourgeois-capitalist and anti-communist character of its author. Mao Zedong refuses proletarian dictatorship and substitutes it by so-called “joint dictatorship of all revolutionary classes”. Actually, all those who are not in favor of the proletarian dictatorship and in favor of socialism and communism are necessarily in favor of the bourgeois dictatorship and of the capitalist-imperialist wage slavagist system. The bourgeoisie and the proletariat are two classes whose interests are irreconcilable. By its own nature and origins, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat have historical missions and roles which are radically opposed. There is no possibility for these two classes to rule under a “joint dictatorship” as Mao argues, because that “share of power” and “joint dictatorship” will invariably be in favor of the bourgeoisie, because no matter how “progressive” and “patriotic”, the bourgeois class has always an exploitative, oppressive and reactionary nature. Until the victorious socialist revolution and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, the bourgeoisie is the class which controls the political-economic system and which dominates the production relations and forces which determine every aspect of the human society, obviously including the state power. So, by refusing the proletarian dictatorship, Mao is indeed defending what can only be a political-economical system in which wage slavery will continue, in which the national and “progressive” bourgeoisie will continue exploiting proletarians, workers and other laboring classes. We also already noted that one of the main instruments used by Mao in order to mislead the Chinese proletariat over the true nature of the Chinese “revolution” was precisely his theory of a “joint dictatorship” of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, of a “share of power” between these two opposite classes with irreconcilable interests and historical roles.

Here and now, we will note the striking and undeniable similarities between these positions from Mao's own mouth and those of his successors. The Constitution of the Communist Party of China in 2012 states that:

“Under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought, the Communist Party of China led the people (...) founding the People's Republic of China, a people's democratic dictatorship.”

(http://www.china.org.cn/china/18th_cpc_congress/2012-11/16/content_27138030.htm, *Constitution of the Communist Party of China*, Revised and adopted at the Eighteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China on November 14, 2012, edition in English)

Therefore, we note that Mao's successors affirm that the “C”PC transformed China into a “people's democratic dictatorship”. This is not surprising, but only confirms the refusal of proletarian dictatorship by Chinese revisionists, before and after Mao's death. And we can spend the rest of our lives searching in the “Constitution of the CPC” but we will never find a single mention to the proletarian dictatorship. Instead, we have this “people's democratic dictatorship », which clearly resembles Mao's “joint dictatorship of all revolutionary classes”. In the mouths of the Chinese revisionists, and taking into account their ideological origins, aims, course and policies, “people's dictatorship” can only mean one thing: bourgeois dictatorship. And this because, in Maoists' view, the so-called “national patriotic bourgeoisie” is also included in what they call “people”. And since the moment that bourgeois class is promptly included by the Maoists / Chinese revisionists in the abstract term “people” and is not only allowed to survive as a class, but also to keep means of production, production forces and relations in its hands together with control over the apparatus of state and political power (including the maintenance of its private property, ownership and sector, no matter if explicit or if hidden behind “public” cloaks), we must firmly denounce that, in such conditions, impossible pretensions to “socialism” or to “proletarian dictatorship” can only be a deceitful one. Socialism and proletarian dictatorship never existed in China before and after Mao's death.

Therefore, we observe that the “Constitution of the CPC” which was amended in 2007 follows exactly the same ideological line that we had already found in Mao's book “New Democracy” which was written in 1940! This a clear proof that the fabricated “divisions”, “differences” and “profound divergences” which some Maoists draw between the “C”PC before Mao's death (qualified as “socialist”, “ideologically pure”, “revolutionary”, “Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist”, etc...) and the “C”PC of Deng Xiaoping and his successors is non-existent. They are all the same. The ideological line followed by the “C”PC's was always totally coherent with the interests of the class to which the “C”PC was born to serve. The “C”PC's invariably adopted a strategy and a line in total accordance with the best interests of the Chinese national bourgeoisie, later turned into a veritable imperialist neo-colonialist bourgeoisie aimed at transforming its country into the next world's indisputable superpower.

Indeed, we must make totally clear that it was Mao's anti-socialist ideology which fundamentally contributed to the development and the consolidation of the political-socio-economic power of the Chinese national bourgeoisie and its later transformation into a state monopolist imperialist and neo-colonialist bourgeoisie. Thus, the Mao Zedong though was an objective and direct cause of the emergence of Chinese social-imperialism; in the same way that the emergence of the Chinese social-imperialism was

an objective and direct consequence of the Mao Zedong Thought. One thing is intrinsically linked with the other and both are inseparable. Comrade Enver once accurately remarked:

“The Communist Party of China and especially Mao Zedong, who was an idealist dreamer and utopian without general education (apart from the one about ancient China), followed the development of human history as xenophobic dilettantes. Their ideological, political and organizational principles, especially since the foundation of the Communist Party, are demonstratively pragmatical and solely focused on China's interests with the obvious aim of transforming "eternal" China into a superpower which controls the world, dictates the law, imposes its own culture and its own will upon others.” (Enver Hoxha, *Letter to Comrade Hysni Kapo*, 1978, edition in English)

Another supposed “opposition” between Mao and his successors would be that relatively to “capitalist development”. In fact, Deng Xiaoping and the others who came after him always tried to provide an image presenting Mao as “an orthodox communist unable to see the advantages of capitalist development within socialism”. This was clearly displayed in Deng Xiaoping very famous statement that “(...) practice of a market economy is not equivalent to capitalism because there are also markets under socialism.” And China’s own present bourgeois-capitalist-imperialist Constitution also states that:

“Article 11 - The non-public sectors of the economy such as the individual and private sectors of the economy, (...) constitute an important component of the socialist market economy.”
(http://www.npc.gov.cn/englishnpc/Constitution/node_2825.htm, *Constitution of the People’s Republic of China*, 2004, edition in English)

Relatively to these positions hold by the Chinese revisionists, we will only affirm that it is indeed possible that during the first stages of socialist construction during the period of socialism “in a single country”, minor markets can still endure. But this must necessarily be a temporary situation, because the markets which persist during some time after socialist revolution and the establishment of proletarian dictatorship will disappear gradually but firmly with the development and the further construction of a socialist and later communist society. And even in those first stages of socialist construction those minor markets should never be allowed to constitute a form of exploitation and of bourgeois capitalist restoration; they should be subjected to total control by the proletarian state power lead by which must always strive for the efficient elimination of those minor markets. This was what happened in Soviet Union of comrades Lenin and Stalin and in socialist Albania of comrade Enver. Indeed, in the late 40’s and early 50’s, comrade Enver noted that Albania was the country in which the proletarian nationalizations were accomplished more rapidly and in which the internal market was more reduced. Comrade Enver Hoxha frequently remarked that one of the causes of the success of socialist implementation in Albania was the fact that in that country the internal markets were reduced to a minimum and the PLA was struggling for their total eradication simultaneously with the intensification of socialist edification.

Of course, in Maoist, wage slavagist, revisionist, social-fascist, anti-communist, bourgeois-capitalist, neo-colonialist and social-imperialist China, the diametrically opposite occurred. It is true that to hide the structure of capitalism behind the "building of communism in China," was an expression of Maoist revisionism and social-fascism. And after the death of Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping openly propagated the structure of capitalism as "indispensable means for the construction of communism." But it is also true that since the beginning, Mao Zedong always encouraged the development of capitalism much before Deng Xiaoping and the other successors in order to allow the national bourgeoisie to consolidate its class power and to exploit and oppress the Chinese proletarians and laboring classes:

“In the new-democratic republic (...) the republic will neither confiscate capitalist private property in general nor forbid the development of such capitalist production (...).” (Mao Zedong, *New Democracy*, 1940, edition in English)

“The revolution of the New Democracy only wants to eliminate feudalism and not capitalism (...).” (Mao Zedong, *La situation actuelle et nos tâches, Oeuvres choisies*, 1967, t. IV, translated from French language)

So, where are the « serious divergences », the « unsolvable differences », and the “profound oppositions” between Mao and his successors? True, during the first phase of its ascension, during Mao’s times, the Chinese national bourgeoisie prevented foreign rivals from penetrating their capital in China, while in the later phases of its development, when its class power and imperialist ascension was already consolidated, it promoted that in order to take advantages of it, as we have already explained in this and in other articles (this later phase corresponds to Deng’s and his successors times and lasts until the present moment). Indeed, when the Chinese bourgeois class encouraged the entrance of American and Western imperialist credits and capitals in China, the leaders of Anglo-American imperialism praised Deng as “a great reformer” thinking that they would colonize China and prevent it from becoming a rival imperialism. Unfortunately for them, they were mistaken. Chinese bourgeois class, both before and after Mao’s death, never for a moment abandoned its plans of imperialist ascension and was never willing to surrender its aims to the interests of American and Western rivals. While firmly keeping the control over the major means of production and over the heavy industry, Chinese bourgeoisie avoided neo-colonization by American / Western imperialism. That’s why the same leaders that were eulogizing Deng’s “reforms” started instead to demonize them, when it became obvious that Chinese bourgeoisie would not let its country be turned into a Western colony.

But this does not mean that the ideological substance of Mao and of his successors were fundamentally different. They were not. During Mao’s times, the interests of Chinese bourgeois class demanded that a certain strategy had to be followed. Later, after Mao’s death, and in order to continue its imperialist ascension, its interests demanded the adoption of another strategy. But both strategies aimed at fostering those same class interests. Mao and his successors were all defenders and promoters of a bourgeois-wage

slavagist system which was “dressed in red” and falsely presented as “socialism” only to detach proletarians, workers and other exploited and oppressed classes from genuinely socialist MLSh ideology, from socialist revolution and proletarian dictatorship in order to keep alive capitalist-imperialist bondage in China and all over the world. While laboring classes believed that what was being constructed in China was really “socialism”, they would not search for it somewhere else and Chinese bourgeois class would be safe. Mao’s successors’ false “anti-Maoism” is only intended to hide their own revisionism, defense of capitalist development in China and their position as lackeys of the Chinese imperialist bourgeoisie which is spreading its exploitative, oppressive and neo-colonialist spider all over the globe, preying for resources and workforce and enslaving world proletarians and workers for profit maximization. However, Chinese toilers are today awakening to the reality of the fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie which the Maoists implemented in their country since 1949, but this is a subject that does not belong to the scope of this article. Last but not least, we will only mention here the false supposed “anti-Maoism” of Wang Ming which is based on Soviet-revisionism instead of on the principles of Stalinism-Hoxhaism:

“This Chinese revisionist "Polemics" served to subjugate the communist movement of the auspices of Maoism. So far, the world communist movement was in the claws of the Soviet revisionists, and the Chinese revisionists were determined to get it in the own claws. This was not possible without the guise of fighting "against Soviet revisionism". The Chinese revisionists availed themselves preferably of the Marxist-Leninist criticism of Comrade Enver Hoxha and the PLA. The "Polemics" is thus not - as it claims - a general line of the international communist movement, but a general line of Maoism to misuse the world communist movement for the interests of the social-imperialist world domination of the Chinese bourgeoisie.

This "Polemics" was especially an attack against the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin. Dimitrov was not the only one who had trampled the old decisions of the Comintern under foot. Thus, Mao also defied the general-line of the Comintern and refused to implement the correct policies of the Comintern in his own country. Mao sabotaged the Comintern. Mao never followed the path of proletarian internationalism, but served the imperialist aspirations of the Chinese bourgeoisie. In 1931 Wang Ming was sent to China to lead the struggle against Mao's rightist opportunism. It was Wang Ming, who represented the Leninist-Stalinist line of the Comintern. He was the deputy secretary general of the Comintern. Wang Ming was the first Stalinist Chinese comrade, who debunked Mao Tse Tung's theory of the "encircling the cities by the village". Before 1935, Wang Ming was some years leader of the Communist Party of China, a courageous opponent of Maoism. Mao put Wang Ming away by means of accusations of "dogmatism" and the Comintern-line was replaced by the bourgeois line of Mao Zedong. Mao fought against the Leninist-Stalinist course Wang Ming as "foreign dogmatism" and treated him as a "puppet of Moscow in China." (Wang Ming came later under revisionist influence, so we have to criticize this).” [General-Line of the Comintern (SH), *Historical teachings of the Comintern and of the Communist World Movement*, chapter VIII, 2011, edition in English]

Especially, the Chinese documents on Wang Ming are determined by the revisionist line of Mao Zedong.

However, condemnation of Mao Zedong on the one hand, is not equal to praising Wang Ming as a correct Marxist-Leninist, on the other hand.

Wang Ming tolerated the Krushchevite betrayal at Stalin.

He also supported the so called Soviet revisionist „criticism on Mao Zedong“. The „criticism“ of Wang Ming on Mao Zedong (especially in time of Soviet revisionism at power which was supported by Wang Ming !) was a flank protection for the revalry between Soviet and Chinese revisionism, and not a protection of Marxism-Leninism from its adoption towards Maoism ! Wang Ming's „anti-Maoism“ was mixed up with the social-imperialist interests of the Soviet revisionists ! The Soviet revisionists misused the correct struggle of Wang Ming in 1930, when the Comintern struggled (under the leadership of Stalin) against the rightist opportunism of Mao Zedong.

Wang Ming „criticized“ Mao Zedong on the basis of the Soviet revisionists and NOT on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

That was a betrayal at the socialist world revolution, a betrayal at the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. Maoism was needed by the world bourgeoisie to deceive the world proletariat in a critical moment of the history of the Communist World Movement – namely its victory of unmasking the Soviet and Yugoslav revisionism as a danger of split and degeneration – thus liquidation of the Communist World Movement by the revisionists.

This was a dangerous moment because, from now on, the unmasked betrayal of the modern revisionists could not any more protect the world bourgeoisie from the danger of the socialist world revolution. Therefore, the world bourgeoisie had to search for a new ideology of betrayal – MAOISM !! The strategical aim of the world bourgeoisie against the new anti-revisionist forces of the Communist World Movement, thus against all those revolutionary forces, against all the true Marxist-Leninists all over the world, who criticized Soviet revisionism and Titoism correctly, should be collected and paralyzed by a NEW „revolutionary 'Marxist-Leninist' leading country“ - thus by Maoist China ! Maoism was needed to save the world bourgeoisie from the socialist world revolution, from a new revolutionary anti-revisionist, communist world movement. In truth : Soviet revisionism and Titoism was already unmasked. Therefore a new mask was urgently needed: the mask of Maoism.

In truth, the so called „criticism“ of the Soviet Revisionists at Mao Zedong is a hidden attack against comrade Enver Hoxha and the PLA, a hidden attack against the true Marxist-Leninists all over the world who condemned modern revisionism of the Krushchevites from correct Marxist-Leninist position.

Of course, the modern revisionists could not openly attack Marxism-Leninism. In this case, they would be unmasked and discredited, at once ! Therefore the Soviet revisionists were forced to hide their attack against Marxism-Leninism behind „criticism at Mao Zedong“.

Soviet revisionism and Chinese revisionism (Maoism) are twins who both attack Marxism-Leninism from different positions. Both swear on „Marxism-Leninism“, but they both are traitors. The world bourgeoisie wanted to have Hoxhaism under control by the Maoists. As long as socialist Albania would follow Maoism, the bourgeoisie thought,

there would be no danger for the further existence of the dictatorship of the world bourgeoisie.

In 1978, the world bourgeoisie had a big problem from that moment on when Hoxhaism attacked Maoism openly. With this event, the next mask (Maoism) became useless for the world bourgeoisie, and the world bourgeoisie had, again, to look for another mask – NEO-REVISIONISM – namely „Anti-Maoism“ in words and revisionism in deeds !!!! In this context and background, we criticize Wang Ming as a revisionist, especially after the death of Stalin.

On the other hand, between 1925 and until the 7th Congress of the Comintern, we believe (conditionally to the lack of historical documents) that Wang Ming must have followed the Bolshevik line of Lenin and Stalin.

Wang Ming studied at the Sun Yat-sen-University in Moscow. He was talented and mastered brilliantly the ideas and tactics of Bolshevism. Only in that time he seemed to be a true Proletarian Internationalist.

He was the leader of those Chinese comrades who defended the Comintern and the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin against rightist opportunism of Mao Zedong – namely Wang Ming defended proletarian internationalism against Chinese nationalism, defended the Chinese proletariat against the new Chinese bourgeoisie. The merit of Wang Ming was that he struggled for the implementation of the Stalinist line, for the system of the Soviet Union in China, for a Soviet China – namely against the line of revisionist Maoism. Wang Ming was a leader of the Comintern. His merit was especially that he implemented the correct line of the decisions of the Stalinist 6th Congress of the Comintern in China.

Mao Zedong attacked the Stalinist line of the Comintern. Mao Zedong openly criticized Stalin and simultaneously Mao Zedong praised the revisionist line of Dimitrov which ended in the liquidation of the great Comintern of Lenin and Stalin.

With the decisions of the 7th Congress of the Comintern, Stalinism was attacked as allegedly „sectarian“ and „dogmatic“ (of course hiddenly as long as Stalin was still alive!!).

This struggle of Dimitrov against the „main danger“ of the Communist World Movement - allegedly „left opportunism“ - paved the way towards modern revisionism as we know it came to power at least with the beginning of the XX. Congress of the CPSU.

How could Wang Ming fulfill his task of the Comintern to fight in China against the rightist deviation of Mao Zedong (1930/31) when the Comintern itself changed the Stalinist line and followed ALSO the rightist deviation ?

Wang Ming, (if he would be a true Marxist-Leninist, a true Stalinist), would have both to struggle against the right deviation of Dimitrov AND the right deviation of Mao Zedong. However, what we can state is, that Wang Ming withdrew from the Stalinist line.

At least, Wang Ming was not strong enough to resist the world-wide right deviation from which later on the modern revisionist line emanated and prevailed.

Mao Zedong misused the mistakes of Wang Ming with the treacherous intention to discredit Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism as „left deviation“ and „dogmatism“. Mao Zedong pointed his finger at the mistakes of Wang Ming for the only purpose to hide his own hostile attitude towards Marxism-Leninism. It is a matter of fact that the whole revisionist world condemns Marxism-Leninism as „dogmatism“ and „sectarianism“

including the Maoist world. And today, the neo-revisionists – in the footsteps of the modern revisionists - condemn Stalinism-Hoxhaism as „dogmatism“ and „sectarianism“. This rightist line of the Comintern after the 7th Congress was a big help for Mao Zedong's struggle against Wang Ming – beginning with 1930.

Wang Ming withdrew from his struggle against the right deviation.

The fatal error of Wang Ming was that he supported the decisions of the right deviation of the 7th Congress of the Comintern – namely to unite with the bourgeoisie - masked behind the so called „people's front“ which was totally in contrast to the united front of Lenin and Stalin.

In the result: Mao Zedong triumphed in 1938, and Wang Ming suffered a defeat.

Wang Ming was not strong enough to struggle against Maoism from correct Marxist-Leninist position. He betrayed the Stalinist line and supported Dimitrov. Wang Ming became ill and saved his life by living in the Soviet Union.

We criticize that Wang Ming supported the revisionist line as member of the Central Committee of the CP China in 1956 – Wang Ming became an agent of the Soviet social imperialists against social-imperialism of Maoist China.

Wang Ming's life was endangered by Mao Zedong who liquidated a lot of Chinese Bolsheviks who defended proletarian internationalism against Maoist nationalism. However, in the end, the Stalinist forces in China were too weak for a victory over Maoism. Most of all the revolutionary forces in China suffer under neo-revisionist influence. For the most Chinese comrades, Hoxhaism in general, and Hoxhaist criticism on Maoism, in particular – is completely unknown. The main danger of the communists in China is the influence of Maoism.

Therefore, the mistakes of Wang Ming must not be repeated in the history of communism in China. The one revisionism (Soviet Union) can never be overthrown through the other revisionism (Maoism). Revisionism can only be defeated by Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism. And Wang Ming did not make use of this only victorious weapon of the world proletariat.

2.5 – The false “anti-Maoism” of the Albanian neo-revisionists

We will now reflect about another kind of phony «anti-Maoism»: that of Albanian neo-revisionists (falsely “anti-revisionists” in words, but revisionists in deeds), behind which they hid their own opportunism and anti-communism.

After comrade Enver's death and before openly surrendering Albania to world bourgeois class, the Albanian neo-revisionist agents headed by Ramiz Alia tried - during a certain period of time - to maintain an “anti-revisionist” and “Hoxhaist” appearance in order to deceive Albanian and world workers about their true aims of destroying socialism in the last existing country of proletarian dictatorship. In this manner, they could accomplish these evil goals in a more calm and efficient manner without attempts from Albanian and world proletarians to stop them.

Included in such masks, fake “anti-Maoism” could never lack. On the contrary, during such period of time, it was a valuable instrument used by Ramiz Alia’s neo-revisionist clique to keep misleading “anti-revisionist” cloaks pretending that they were “continuing Enver’s struggle against Maoism” while actually they were only preparing the ground to Albania’s surrender to global imperialism in general, and to Chinese social-imperialism (which is a direct consequence of Maoist / Chinese revisionism), in particular. However, in their official documents and texts, Albanian neo-revisionists and their supporters worldwide tried to give the impression of being staunch fighters against:

“(...) the kind of revisionism that (...) in China has converted into social-imperialism.” [PLA, *Études Politiques et Sociales* (1984-1989), October 1985, translated from French language]

Actually, as we already referred, Albanian neo-revisionists did their utmost to destroy socialism in Albania and to deliver it into the exploitative and oppressive claws of world revisionism-capitalism-imperialism. And this also included Chinese social-imperialism, of course. Some time after comrade Enver’s death, Albanian neo-revisionists headed by Ramiz Alia, Adil Çarçani, Fatos Nano and others promptly started to openly abandon the principle of the prevalence of the internal factor over the external factor and of reliance on one’s own forces. Like the Albanian Marxists-Leninists-Stalinists always highlighted, the external circumstances can be favorable or unfavorable, they can increase or decrease the quickness of socialist development and construction, but they can never stop it. And this precisely because it is the internal factor that is determinant, even in the case of a small country with a backward economy. These principles rejected by Albanian neo-revisionists were among most important laws of socialist construction during the first stage of socialism “in a single country”, being basic to MLSH theory and practice and essential to socialist construction in comrade Enver’s Albania:

“Let us take, for example, the question of the economic construction of the country, the development of the socialist economy relying on one’s own forces. This principle is correct. Every independent, sovereign socialist state must mobilize the entire people, and define its economic policy correctly, must take all measures for the proper and most rational exploitation of all the wealth of the country, and administer this wealth thriftily, must increase it in the interest of its own people and must not allow it to be plundered by others. This is a main, basic orientation for every socialist country.”(Enver Hoxha, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

“The complete construction of socialist society is closely connected with the understanding and implementation of the principle of self-reliance in every step and every field of life. This great Marxist-Leninist principle of profound revolutionary content is not only a law for the construction of socialism, but also, in the present conditions, an urgent necessity for our country to cope successfully with enemy blockades and encirclement. (...) The freedom won, all the successes achieved so far, our socialist and independent life, are practical verification of the Leninist conclusion that self-reliance, the internal factor, is the decisive factor, both in the struggle for the triumph of the revolution and the seizure of power, and in the

struggle for the construction of socialism and the defense of the Homeland. Our Party has always defended the principle that self-reliance is not a temporary policy imposed by circumstances, but an objective necessity for every country, big or small, developed or underdeveloped, a principle applying both in liberation wars and the proletarian revolution, and in the construction of socialism and the defense of the Homeland.” (Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA*, Tirana, 1976, edition in English)

But Albanian neo-revisionists did just the opposite. During comrade Enver’s times, socialist Albania was exempt from commercial deficit and from any other kinds of debts towards non-socialist countries, what ensured the country’s independence towards capitalist-imperialist-revisionist world and its capacity to resist its encirclement. But this would change with the coming to power of the neo-revisionists. Their pro-imperialist policies caused serious dysfunctions and problems to the Albanian economy, as they zealously fostered reliance on goods, commodities and importations from imperialist, capitalist and revisionist countries (including China). One of the most known Albanian neo-revisionists, Adil Çarçani, explicitly noted that:

“(...) many products have been lacking (...) the organizations of our external commerce must have a better knowledge of the external markets and of the evolution of the economies of those countries with which we trade.” (Adil Çarçani, *Raport Sur Les Directives du IX Congrès du Parti Relatives au 8 Plan Quinquennal*, 1986-1990, translated from French language)

As we can observe, instead of blaming their own anti-socialist measures and policies for the severe handicaps affecting Albanian economy in the late 80’s, Alia’s neo-revisionists mentioned instead that the “solution” to the “lack of products” is supposedly “a better knowledge of the market economies” of the capitalist-imperialist-revisionist countries with the purpose of using imported commodities from those countries to put an end to the mentioned lacks.

So, while making deceitful statements about their alleged “struggle against Chinese social-imperialism”, Albanian neo-revisionists were in fact following the pro-imperialist line of Maoist / Chinese revisionists. They were opening the path to the complete refusal of the principle of reliance on one’s own socio-economic productive forces and to Albania’s invasion by products coming from non-socialist countries (including from social-imperialist China), what resulted in the country’s first commercial deficit in many decades. In the late 80’s, for the first time since 1946, Albania had commercial debts towards non-socialist countries. And we know very well that a truly socialist country can never have debts. Comrade Enver always stressed that a socialist country can never owe anything to bourgeois-capitalist-imperialist-revisionist world. During the 1971-1975 five-year plan, total trade between Albania and the countries of Eastern Europe totaled \$ 335 million of imports and \$ 365 million in exports, a trade surplus. In 1975, the trade balance was positive in Albania, even relatively to the Western imperialist countries, as imports totaled \$ 44 million and exports \$ 61 million. During the period 1970-1979, the Albanian trade balance presented a trade surplus of 2% of the value of imports. The

budget of a socialist state must necessarily be balanced and must always present a certain surplus: the balance of foreign trade can never be structurally deficient: indeed, debt reflects dependence towards both domestic and international creditors that eventually become *de facto* owners of the means of production, thus eventually constituting a new repressive and exploitative bourgeois class exercising a wage slavagist tyranny over proletarians, workers and other oppressed classes. It is through the priority development of the heavy industry of means of production that the Albanian communists were able to accomplish success in socialist construction in their country against world bourgeois-capitalist-imperialist-revisionist encirclement.

If a determined nation has any kind of debts (commercial or any other...) towards capitalist-imperialist-revisionist countries, companies or institutions, then this automatically means that the nation in question, is not socialist. And if a country which has been constructing socialism accepts to be in any manner indebted towards the bourgeois world, then this means that this country has ceased from being socialist. Bolshevik Soviet Union of comrades Lenin and Stalin and Socialist Albania of comrade Enver never had any kind of debt towards capitalist-imperialist-revisionist nations.

And we must never forget that in the only true socialist countries that ever existed (in Bolshevik Soviet Union of comrades Lenin and Stalin and in comrade Enver's socialist Albania) the key principle of "relying on one's own forces" was never reduced to exportations being superior to importations. Capitals invested in economy always came entirely from the country's own accumulation funds. Comrade Enver made it very clear when he remarked that a correct policy of socialist construction based on one's own forces also means the increase of the country's wealth in benefit of the working people now ruling it under proletarian dictatorship.

But as we had already mentioned, under the anti-socialist dominance of the Albanian neo-revisionists, by the late 1980s serious dysfunctions had appeared in the Albanian economy. The 1986 reform of wholesale prices promoted by the Albanian neo-revisionists was exactly like the measures taken by Khrushchev just even after the revisionist coup d'état in Soviet Union, measures which caused deep negative "formidable impact to the whole social mechanism". Once, when revisionists and anti-socialists of many kinds (the so-called "Opposition" - which was in truth a group of Trotskyist and anti-communist criminals) were trying to topple Leninist-Stalinist leadership, to destroy proletarian dictatorship, to annihilate socialist construction and to restore bourgeois-capitalist-imperialist wage slavagist system in Bolshevik Soviet Union, they had also tried to promote the application of similar counter-revolutionary policies in order to jeopardize the country's socialist economy and material productive basis. These anti-socialist aims were promptly exposed. Relatively to this, Henri Barbusse noted that:

"In the third place, a great number of the proposals of the Opposition are quite obviously dangerous, clumsy and likely to produce disastrous results. (...) the proposal that wholesale prices should be increased (the Fifteenth Congress pointed out the formidable repercussions that would eventually result from such a measure, which the Opposition adopted without considering the mechanism of Socialism as a

whole...).” (Henri Barbusse, *Stalin: A New World Seen Through One Man*, 1935, edition in English)

Moreover, during the period 1987 to 1990 in Albania, spending had increased from 59 to 64% of the country's GDP while the share of capital formation declined correspondingly. Thus, the social accumulation rate declined. There were many problems due to neo-revisionist plunder and sabotage of the social wealth. During the times of Enver Hoxha, many significant reserves to be used in case of conflict were created, but they were not used. Due to their pro-imperialist policy of encouraging the importations of commodities coming from non-socialist countries, the fall in 1989 of the social-imperialist, revisionist and social-fascist countries of Eastern Europe, with which neo-revisionist Albania was promoting trade relations had a profound impact and deeply worsened this situation, leading to a decrease of Albanian toilers' living and working conditions. Thus, the economic blockade was strengthened, which facilitated the penetration of the disposition to surrender and provided an enlarged basis for proliferation of neo-revisionist, opportunist and anti-socialist elements and forces. And we cannot forget the fact that, after the open break with Beijing, Albanian communists repeatedly noted that the materials and equipments provided by the Chinese revisionists was outdated and of very poor quality. This has also certainly exercised a negative influence over the course of socialist Albania's economy, contributing to weaken it and turning it more vulnerable to external and internal pressures, attacks and encirclements. Comrade Enver once noted that:

“The experience of Albania shows that even a small country, with a backward material-technical base, can achieve a very rapid and all-round economic and cultural development, can ensure its independence and withstand the attacks of world capitalism and imperialism when it is led by a truly Marxist-Leninist party, when it is determined to fight to the end for its ideals, and has faith in its ability to achieve them.” (Enver Hoxha, *Report to the 8th Congress of the PLA*, Tirana, 1981, edition in English)

And of course, the opposite is also true. If a country like socialist Albania ceases from being an authentic proletarian dictatorship led by a genuine communist vanguard party of Leninist-Stalinist type, then all the announced accomplishments will inevitably know and will eventually disappear, as world bourgeois-imperialist-capitalist-revisionist system takes control of the country and neo-colonizes it. Therefore, we can conclude that the Albanian neo-revisionists were the ones who, as lackeys, agents and servers of world capitalist-imperialist bourgeois class, destroyed centralized planned economy by refusing and abandoning the application of the laws of socialist building in Albania. If they would have remained faithful to the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha and of the other Classics of Marxism-Leninism, for instance the social accumulation rate could have never decreased, like indeed occurred.

Taking into account what we said above, the false «anti-Maoism» put forward by the Albanian neo-revisionists allegedly “criticizing Maoist preference for markets and refusal of a truly socialist economy” simply doesn't hold any water. Making use of their false “anti-Maoism”, they affirm that:

“It is evident that those are views and theories which are not Marxist-Leninist, like happens with Mao Zedong Thought, which is founded in the market, in competition and anarchy. It is incompatible with the notions and the principles of a truly socialist economy (...) organized in agreement with socialism’s objective economic laws.” [PLA, *Études Politiques et Sociales (1984-1989)*, 1986, translated from French language]

While admitting that such criticisms are indeed entirely suitable to Maoist / Chinese revisionism, they are also fully applicable to the policies embraced by the Albanian neo-revisionists, who behind their misleading “Hoxhaist”, “anti-revisionist” and even also “anti-Maoist” masks managed to destroy the last socialist state of proletarian dictatorship in the world, restoring capitalism and allowing its transformation into a neo-colony of world capitalists-imperialists (Chinese, Western, etc.). The development tendency of Albanian neo-revisionism can be briefly described in the following 4 steps = firstly, surrender to Maoism, secondly, surrender to Soviet revisionism, thirdly, surrender to Titoist revisionism and fourthly, final capitulation to European and American imperialism, to Chinese social-imperialism, etc.

Just like Maoist / Chinese revisionists, Albanian neo-revisionists pretended in a first moment to “defend Marxism-Leninism” only to be better able to attack it later. And also just like Soviet revisionists had promoted an anti-socialist personality cult around comrade Stalin only to later use it as a supposed “proof of Stalinist despotism”, also Albanian neo-revisionists made the same relatively to comrade Enver Hoxha. Their purpose was to discredit, respectively, Stalinism and Hoxhaism in front of the eyes of proletarians, workers and other exploited and oppressed classes. Like the lackeys of the bourgeois-capitalist-imperialist-revisionist world they were and are, the Albanian neo-revisionists didn’t lag behind Soviet, Chinese, etc. revisionists in what respects to ability to fabricate deceitful schemes to keep laborers away from genuine proletarian and communist ideology. In many of its official documents of the Comintern (SH), we already analyzed the issue of neo-revisionist betrayal in Albania, remarking that:

“Finally, after the death of Enver Hoxha the Albanian social-fascists themselves arose their rat-heads under the leadership of the traitor Ramiz Alia and they destroyed the Albanian proletarian dictatorship from inside with support and with collaboration with the imperialists and social-imperialists from outside who planned this - step by step - long time ago when Enver Hoxha was still alive. Within shortest time the imperialists were plundering Albania. It was the same person named Ramiz Alia who once appeared against Modern Revisionism and who arranged and commanded the fall of Enver Hoxha’s and Stalin’s monuments in Tirana. Ramiz Alia talked big about Enver Hoxha in public, holding his knife behind his garment. But Enver Hoxha and the PLA are immortal. (...) They took over Krushchev’s hidden and then wildly open attack against Stalin and did it with Enver Hoxha in the same way.” [Documents of the Comintern (Stalinists-Hoxhaists), *Neo-revisionism or Leninism?*, 2004, edition in English]

“The socialist Albania of comrade Enver Hoxha was the base of the world revolution. It was clear that the disreputation of socialism in Albania from inside as well as from outside harmed and damaged the confidence of the world proletariat in socialism and world revolution. The neo-revisionist dismantling of socialism in Albania led to the weakening of the Marxist-Leninist world movement of comrade Enver Hoxha. The propaganda of the revisionists, that “socialism in Albania failed” was also propaganda to weaken the position of communism all over the world. Ramiz Alia and his supporters all over the world helped revisionism to turn back the flywheel of the international revolutionary movement. The pretended “hundred percent Enver Hoxha - defense course“ of Ramiz Alia turned out to be a hundred percent Anti-Enver Hoxha course, a course of capitulation, a liquidatory course – a) liquidation of socialism in Albania and b) liquidation of proletarian internationalism by descending Albania as the base of the world revolution c) a course of renewed neo-revisionist branches (for example the revival of Maoism: socialism in Albania failed, ergo: Enver Hoxha was „wrong“ – Mao was „right“). Alia’s distortion of Enver Hoxha was the same distortion of Leninism by Sinovjev. Stalin unmasked Sinovjev 1926 in his “Questions of Leninism” (Stalin, Volume 8).”
 [Documents of the Comintern (SH), *Enver Hoxha - the 5th Architect of Marxism-Leninism and the foundation of the Comintern (ML)*, 2001, edition in English]

The most important document which proves that the Albanian neo-revisionists had dropped the official Hoxhaist line of anti-Maoism, this is the report at the 9th Congress of the PLA in November 1986.

In this report – held by the traitor Ramiz Alia – there existed not a single word against Maoism. In a short paragraph, he mentioned casually “Chinese revisionism”, while comrade Enver Hoxha were struggling expressively against the Mao Zedong-Ideas as the BASIS and prevailing feature of Chinese revisionism. What was the intention of Ramiz Alia when “forgetting” this essential lesson of comrade Enver Hoxha ? There can be no talk of struggle against Chinese revisionism without struggle against Maoism. **To abandon struggle against Maoism means nothing else but capitulation of struggle against Chinese revisionism – a grave betrayal at the 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism. As long as comrade Enver Hoxha was alive, Ramiz Alia had carefully hidden Albanian revisionism behind the mask of “anti-Maoism”. And shortly after the death of comrade Enver Hoxha this mask was dropped immediately.** Moreover, this crime is a grist to the mills of the Maoists who defend Mao as an alleged “anti-revisionist”. The fairy-tale, that “socialism” in China would be allegedly “betrayed” after the death of Mao, was de facto nourished by Ramiz Alia and his Clique – thus a big disservice to the Maoists.

In his whole report, Ramiz Alia mentioned only Marx and Lenin, and simultaneously he kept totally quiet about comrade Stalin. We call this nothing else than following in the footsteps of the Maoists and of all the other anti-Stalinists.

The false “anti-Maoism” of the Albanian neo-revisionists was extremely dangerous and difficult to be denounced and unmasked because it was hidden behind the central anti-Maoist lessons of the 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism. **Namely, it grew up in midst of the world-center of anti-Maoism!**

However, without this sub-chapter, our DWM IV would not be complete, and we aim at preventing conceal of this Albanian ideological branch of neo-revisionism in its historical meaning, namely concerning its enormous contribution to the annihilation of socialism and of proletarian dictatorship in Albania, to the subsequent wage slavagist, bourgeois-capitalist-imperialist restoration and neo-colonization of this country and also to the cleavage of the Marxist-Leninist World Movement that cannot be underestimated.

2.6 – The false “anti-Maoism” of the “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists

We will now analyze one of the most (if not the most) dangerous kind of false “anti-Maoism”: that from the “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists. This kind of false “anti-Maoism” was doubtlessly influenced by the Albanian neo-revisionists. In other documents of the Comintern (SH), we state:

“The term "4-and-a-Half Heads" is derived from the term "2-and-a-Half International". This was once formed as a centrist, anti-communist International for the purpose to struggle against the revolutionary internationalist line of the Bolsheviks and against the Comintern.

“The gentlemen of the Second-and-a-Half International pose as revolutionaries; but they prove to be counterrevolutionaries" (Lenin) The forces of the "4-and-a-Half Heads" limit themselves to the "Four heads", while they disrate the lessons of comrade Enver Hoxha - namely not equally ranking to the lessons of the other 4 Classics of Marxism-Leninism.

The "4 and 1/2ists" are those who don't recognize comrade Enver as the 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism, but only as someone who made “enriching contributions” to it. This stand is synonym of complete anti-communism because to refuse one of the Classics of Marxism-Leninism means to reject all of them as a whole. It is absolutely necessary and indispensable to recognize him as the authentic 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism, as the world-proletarian leader who truly developed further the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin after the death of Stalin and in the context of world capitalist-imperialist-revisionist encirclement.

The organizations of the so called "4-1/2 Heads" pose as Marxist-Leninists, but they prove to be enemies of Marxism-Leninism. Definition of the neo-revisionist ideology of the "4-1/2 Heads":

The neo-revisionist ideology of "4-1/2 Heads" is a bourgeois ideology which struggles both openly and hiddenly against Hoxhaism. It denies the further development of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, created by comrade Enver Hoxha. It is an ideology of disavowal of the 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism - comrade Enver Hoxha.

What is Neo-revisionism? "Neo-revisionism is "anti-revisionism" in words, and revisionism in deeds." (Documents of the Comintern (SH), *"4-1/2 Heads"- a neo-revisionist ideology*, 2014, edition in English)

The new neo-revisionist tendency of the “4 and ½ heads” is relatively recent and it aims at denying comrade Enver Hoxha as the 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism, affirming that instead, Enver should be considered as «having made enriching contributions to Marxist-Leninist science». The «4 and ½ heads» neo-revisionists are still not able to hide their anti-socialism behind an “anti-revisionist”, “Stalinist-Hoxhaist” mask, behind a fake «recognition» of comrade Enver as the 5th Classic of ML in words, but its refusal in deeds. No. Most of them are still unable to reach such a sophisticated degree of neo-revisionism, in spite of the fact that some of them are already adopting more misleading «Hoxhaist» masks. Of course, they are neo-revisionists because they use «anti-revisionist» cloaks and slogans while always keeping their revisionist nature and aims.

In their official documents and logotypes, the «4 and ½ heads» neo-revisionists only present the first four Classics of ML: Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. By denying comrade Enver its place as the 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism, they are also automatically refusing the lessons and teachings of all the other 4 Classics they affirm to recognize. And this because the infallible teachings and lessons from Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Enver form an indivisible and unshakeable unity; and when we say Stalinists-Hoxhaists, we also say Marxist-Leninists, as the second expression is already included in the first. The lessons of a certain Classic cannot exist without the lessons of all other Classics as a whole.

Therefore, it is easy to understand that to deny one of them means to deny all them as a whole. And if we deny all them as a whole, we are of course denying MLSH as a whole, too. And as the embracement and application of MLSH is the only manner to successfully abolish world capitalist-imperialist system through proletarian dictatorship and genuine armed violent socialist construction, then our conclusion is logic: to deny comrade Enver as the 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism means to perpetuate the global dominance of world bourgeois class, it means to be at the side of reaction and wage slavery against the total and definitive emancipation of world proletarians, workers and other exploited and oppressed classes towards a stateless, classless and propertyless communist world society. It is as simple as this.

The expression "Marxist-Leninist" is inevitably included in the expression Stalinist-Hoxhaist. As we mentioned, most of the “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists are still too much “conservative” to refuse to replace their own phony designation of “Marxists-Leninists” by another equally phony but much more deceitful designation of “Stalinists-Hoxhaists”. So, we can still use this designation as a mostly safe line of demarcation relatively to all revisionist, neo-revisionist, reformist, opportunist, social-fascist, social-imperialist and anti-communists. Stalinism-Hoxhaism is the best way to describe our revolutionary and proletarian socialist ideology and leaves no doubts relatively to our authentically communist nature. Even if there are already some groups which are clever

enough to use false “Stalinist-Hoxhaist” masks and to use and manipulate the name of comrade Enver Hoxha and of socialist Albania for the benefit of their anti-communist objectives, the irreconcilable contrast between our genuinely SH nature and contents and their neo-revisionist rubbish can never be eliminated. And this situation demands moreover that we should use the strongest line of demarcation possible relatively to all anti-socialist tendencies.

We can never limit ourselves to consider comrade Enver Hoxha as somebody who has made "enriching contributions" to the communist movement. He must be acknowledged as the true 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism, as the proletarian leader who continued the development of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin after their deaths and in the conditions of world / global imperialist-capitalist-revisionist encirclement, with comrade Enver's socialist Albania being the last authentically socialist state of proletarian dictatorship in the world (our ideological positions and basis about this issue can be found at the "Programmatic Platform of the Comintern (SH)" http://ciml.250x.com/platform_comintern_sh.html and in the text "Enver Hoxha – the 5th Architect of Marxism-Leninism": <http://ciml.250x.com/enverclass.html>).

But let's focus on the false “anti-Maoism” practiced by the “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists. First of all, we must remark that nowadays the anti-communist CIPOML and its “brother-parties” are among the best examples of neo-revisionists of the “4 and ½ heads” type. That's why we searched for official documents published by such parties in order to find concrete examples of their neo-revisionist positions.

Just like happens with nearly all other kinds of false “anti-Maoisms”, also that practiced by the “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists is intended to hide its authors' own revisionism and anti-communism, is intended to hide the absolute identity of nature and goals between them and Maoist / Chinese revisionism to deviate workers' attention from MLSH and to keep them submerged in a false “debate” between two anti-socialist defenders of global capitalism-imperialism.

In their articles, those “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists affirm that:

“(...) we denounced “Mao Zedong thought” as dogmatic and anti-Marxist.” (<http://www.pcmlle.org/partido.php>, *El Partido Comunista Marxista Leninista del Ecuador*, translated from Spanish language)

“Our movement consists of (...) rich experiences (...) from the struggle against the (...) Maoist betrayal.” (<http://www.revolusjon.no/english/articles/886-a-central-international-organism>, *A central international organism*, 2001, edition in English)

In first place, already in an occasion in which they try to pose as “anti-Maoists”, they indirectly affirm that Maoism was once committed to the cause of genuine socialism, as if it “betrayed”, that's because it had once been loyal. Of course, we Stalinists-Hoxhaists, have already remarked a thousand times that this is false, Maoism never betrayed socialism due to the very simple fact that it had never anything to do with true socialism.

It always remained a reactionary anti-communist and pro-capitalist ideology aimed at favoring the interests of Chinese national bourgeoisie and opening the path of its imperialist ascension. The times when it may have used some “red” slogans, cloaks and masks that was entirely due to necessities of misleading laboring classes and of keeping them away from struggle for veritable socialist revolution and proletarian dictatorship - through making them believe that Maoist social-fascist and wage slavagist China was “constructing socialism”! Those who, like the “4 and ½” heads neo-revisionists deny this, are defending the exploitative and oppressive objectives of Maoism, are siding with it and have a common nature with it – they are essentially the same, no matter the supposed “anti-Maoist” masks, affirmations and slogans used by the “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists.

And a further closer looks at more of their texts confirms this. For example, in their official site, the so-called “Marxist-Leninist Communist Party” of Venezuela has many books to download. They have many of comrades Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, a few from Enver Hoxha and...a book from social-fascist anti-communist Fidel Castro! Those who do not believe us can enter these links: <http://pcmlv.blogspot.pt/p/libros-y-publicaciones-marxista.html> and <https://docs.google.com/file/d/0B0WU2q-AfruONDAtrRHpZcGNzUTA/edit?pli=1>.

In our article “Down with Cuban revisionism!”, we already comprehensively unmasked the true character and goals of Castroist-Guevarist revisionism and we also denounced the social-fascist and anti-communist bourgeois-capitalist nature of Castroist-Guevarist Cuba. In that article, we had exposed the various similarities between Castroism and Maoism and we remarked their common anti-socialist purposes. Therefore, if the neo-revisionists from the “4 and ½” heads love Castroism so much that they even want their readers to download Castro’s social-fascist books, that means that they are also embracing all multiple and striking similarities between Castroism and Maoism.

The neo-revisionist and social-fascist CIPOML and its “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionist parties have as purpose to prevent the world proletariat from uniting under the centralized proletarian leadership of the Comintern (SH). For that, they spread all kinds of apparently “Marxist-Leninist” slogans intended to deceive and to detach workers from world socialist revolution, from global proletarian dictatorship, from world socialism and world communism so globalized capitalism-imperialism and the maximum profits of world bourgeois class can survive. In face of this, no wonder that promote Castroism-Guevarism and – consequently – also Maoism.

Just like the “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists aim at preventing world workers and other exploited and oppressed classes to organize themselves under the proletarian vanguard of their mentioned World Party with such purposes, also Castroists and Maoists do their utmost to make the same in their own countries. That’s why they all tried to convince workers that fierce leadership by an authentically communist proletarian party of Leninist-Stalinist type was not necessary and attempted to reduce its irreplaceable vanguard role to mere “orienting” and spontaneist” functions.

During the “Cultural Revolution” in China, Chinese revisionists made their famous affirmation that: “The masses are the creators of history,” a voluntary and idealistic conception. This was transformed into a slogan that was amplified during the “Cultural Revolution” particularly highlighting the absence of the party leadership:

“The revolutionary line of Chairman Mao is to trust the masses, to rely on them, respect their initiative, let them educate and liberate themselves.” (*Editorial du Hongqi*, in Pékin Information, N° 14, 1966, translated from French language)

Marx and Engels argued, at the time when they had to fight against idealistic conceptions inherited from feudalism and amplified by the bourgeoisie, that men are the ones making their own history. But when Marx and Engels said that men are the ones who make history, it was to propagate the theory of historical materialism in opposition to the reactionaries trying to reduce history to the activity of a few “great men”. Men make history as members of certain determined classes in the fight against each other, and that’s only when they really become a conscious class, “a class for itself” provided with its own party that we can talk about revolutionary action of the working class (the proletariat) in the course of history. That is why the Marxist conception of history, while considering that the masses make history, doesn’t underestimate the work of men from those masses, capable of guiding the classes in a specific historical period. We must, on the other hand, consider that the Cultural Revolution has particularly highlight certain aspects that Maoism and Castroism have in common, particularly in what respects to the refusal of the leadership role of the proletarian communist party of Leninist-Stalinist type – indispensable to lead working classes towards successful socialist revolution, proletarian dictatorship and socialist construction. Revisionists like Castroists and Maoists and neo-revisionists like those of the “4 and ½” heads can very well accommodate to the idea of organization, or even to the idea of a party. What is typical of their line is the anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary “role” they assign to the party.

Thus, Fidel Castro affirms:

“What is the function of the party? It orientates. It orientates at all levels.” (Fidel Castro, *Révolution Cubaine*, translated from French language)

We can find in this conception of the party role those ultra-opportunist theses developed by the Yugoslav revisionists which Enver Hoxha so clearly unmasked:

“The negation of the role of the communist party in the construction of socialism and the reduction of this role to an «ideological» and «orientating» factor is in open opposition to Marxism-Leninism. The enemies of scientific socialism substantiate this thesis by «arguing» that leadership by the party is allegedly incompatible with the decisive role which should be played by the masses of producers, who, they claim, should exercise their political influence directly, and not through the communist party, because this would bring about «bureaucratic despotism»! Contrary to the anti-scientific theses of these enemies of communism, historical experience has shown that the undivided leading role of the revolutionary party of

the working class in the struggle for socialism and communism is absolutely essential. (...) «Bureaucratic despotism» is a characteristic of the capitalist State, and it can never be attributed to the leading role of the party under the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which from its nature and class character, is sternly anti-bureaucratic.” (Enver Hoxha, *Yugoslav self-administration, capitalist theory and practice*, Tirana, 1978, edition in English)

The reactionary denial of the leading role of the communist party is an essential part of both Castroist and Maoist revisionisms and also of the “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists. This because by uncritically promoting Castroism, the neo-revisionists of the “4 and ½ heads” are also automatically supporting all the anti-socialist reactionary “theories” inherent to it. And taking into account that Castroism shares these “theories” with Maoism, it is time for the “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists to admit that their “anti-Maoist” mask falls apart.

However, these positions by them are perfectly understandable. A party consisting of several classes is not able to lead a revolutionary movement. Indeed, in a revolutionary period, when classes are in motion, this is precisely where it will remain paralyzed as an organization which combines the staffs of several classes, each struggling to accomplish their own class interests. And the Maoists, Castroists and also the “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists certainly don’t have as objective to foster the formation of an authentically communist party led by a single class (the proletariat) and able to lead the other exploited and oppressed classes towards socialism and communism. No. Their objective is precisely the opposite. They don’t want to abolish the inevitability of class society, but to eternally perpetuate it. In face of this, it is easy to understand the reason why they and all other anti-communists deny of the necessary and irreplaceable leading role of the Leninist-Stalinist party.

And we must also refer that to publish books from Fidel Castro together with books from the Classics represents a miserable attempt at reconciling two opposites that can never be reconciliated: social-fascism and MLSh.

“WE UNDERSTAND BY NEO-REVISIONISM ALL VARIETIES OF BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY, THAT ARE HIDDEN BEHIND MODERN REVISIONISM, THAT STRUGGLE AGAINST MODERN REVISIONISM ONLY BY MARXIST-LENINIST WORDS, THAT TRY TO ACHIEVE RECONCILIATION WITH MODERN REVISIONISM, AND THAT CAST THEIR SKIN RESPECTIVELY WILL CAST THEIR SKIN IN FUTURE.” (Documents of the Comintern (SH), *Enver Hoxha, the 5th Architect of Marxism-Leninism*, 2001, edition in English)

But there is more. Another characteristic that the “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists have in common with Maoist revisionism is the refusal of the historic merits and present necessity of a Communist International (Comintern). Just like the Chinese revisionists always did their utmost to prevent the existence of a Communist International, whose necessity was always absolute, no matter if all kinds of revisionists, neo-revisionists and

anti-communists affirmed the contrary. The Norwegian “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists affirm that:

“(...) the experiences from the Comintern, (...) have proven that at "world party" or a "mother party" is laid with great dangers and hampers the independent thinking and development within each party.” (<http://www.revolusjon.no/english/articles/886-a-central-international-organism>, *A central international organism*, 2001, edition in English)

At this point, we just have to recall the famous statement of the Maoist / Chinese revisionists affirming that: “A centralized leadership such as the leadership of the Comintern neither exists nor is desirable. Democratic centralism cannot be applied to fraternal parties.” Here is the proof of the total anti-Comintern attitude of the Maoists. In our General-Line, we noticed that:

“In the "Polemics" (1963), the Chinese revisionists had not withdrawn their hostile attitude to the Comintern of Lenin and Stalin. On the contrary. In the "Polemics" (1963) the appraisal of the significance of the Comintern is completely missing, and no single thought was wasted about the necessity of a re-foundation of the Comintern. We condemn Mao not only because he was active at the time of the Comintern as a splitter of the communist world movement, but also as splitter of the Marxist-Leninist world movement at the time of Comrade Enver Hoxha, namely as a splitter in the struggle against modern revisionism. Mao continued his anti-Marxist-Leninist way steadily. He did not only inflict damage on the matter of the world revolution, but also the Chinese revolution, which he pretended to "protect" against alleged "sectarianism" and against the "dogmatism" - thus Stalinism.” [General-Line of the Comintern (SH), *Historical teachings of the Comintern and of the Communist World Movement*, Chapter VIII, 2011, edition in English]

And this open hostility towards the existence of the Comintern and / or the necessity of its re-building is also explicit in more quotations from Mao. This one, in particular, strikingly resembles the above from the “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists concerning the supposed “hampering of independent thinking” and of “freedom” by the glorious Comintern of comrades Lenin and Stalin. Referring to Wang Ming and resorting to his usual anti-Stalinism and eulogizes for ultra-opportunist Dimitrov, Mao stated:

"The line of Wang Ming was in fact the line of Stalin. The Comintern made countless mistakes in the past. The early and late phase of the Comintern was quite ok, but the mean phase was not as good [of course, Mao had the Stalinist phase in mind - remark of the Comintern (SH)]. When Lenin was still alive, and the Comintern was fine when Georgi Dimitrov was responsible. The first Wang Ming line dominated our party for four years and the Chinese Revolution suffered the greatest losses. Only after the dissolution of the Comintern we enjoyed more freedom. There are two types of Chinese: one is a dogmatist, who fully accepts the line of Stalin, and the other is against dogmatism and therefore the one who refuses to follow Stalin's instructions. The Comintern has never practiced self-criticism

because of this error."[Mao Zedong, *From the protocols of his conversation with a Yugoslav delegation in Beijing*, September 1956, quoted in: General-Line of the Comintern (SH), *Historical teachings of the Comintern and of the Communist World Movement*, Chapter VIII, 2011, edition in English]

It is not only the case that the "C"PC struggled against subordination under the "C"PSU. It is the case the "C"PC wants the total subordination to Maoism as the better instrument of the struggle against the indispensable and inevitable re-creation and the re-building of the new Comintern.

Moreover, in the 50's, Mao Zedong also had displayed his refusal relatively to the Cominform. When referring to the "Yugoslav question" (that we have analysed in other texts, and therefore we will not further develop this issue here), Mao remarked:

"On this question," said Mao, «you Albanians have not made mistakes towards the Yugoslavs, and neither have the Yugoslav comrades made mistakes towards you. The Information Bureau has made great mistakes here." (Enver Hoxha, *The Krushchevists*, Tirana, 1980, edition in English)

True, the Cominform (the Information Bureau) was not the Communist International, it was instead a very modest and limited "continuation" of it. But if Mao Zedong affirmed his disgust relatively to it, it is easy to understand that his attitude towards a true Communist International would be even more negative, as a genuinely red Comintern would mean tight control, criticism and punishment of bourgeois-capitalist, social-fascist and anti-socialist deviation like Maoist / Chinese revisionism.

Maoist revisionists, "4 and ½ heads" neo-revisionists and all other kinds of anti-communists still tremble when they remember the times of the glorious former International of comrades Lenin and Stalin, when Marxist-Leninism-Stalinism was faithfully embraced and applied towards the armed violent socialist revolution and maintenance of proletarian dictatorship, of socialism and communism not only in Soviet Union but in the entire world. Unfortunately, the former Comintern was eventually liquidated by the revisionists, but the souvenirs of its brilliant Marxist-Leninist achievements remain until nowadays and still haunt the minds of all types of reformists and social-fascists. And the "4 and ½ heads" neo-revisionists together with the Maoists are no exception. That's why they insist in allegedly and supposedly "informing" us about the supposed "great dangers" caused by former Comintern. Surely, the glorious former Comintern of comrades Lenin and Stalin did indeed great harms; it did enormous harms to all types of revisionists, opportunists, social-fascists, reformists and anti-communists around the world.

Through its correct Marxist-Leninist proletarian line, the former Comintern gave a decisive contribution to the advancement of world proletarian and socialist revolution. If it was not for revisionist treason since 1935, the glorious Comintern of comrades Lenin and Stalin would have been a veritable decisive force behind its accomplishment. Before 1935, during the time when Stalinist line and directives were fully applied, the Comintern was an implacable and invincible enemy of world imperialism, which recognized in it a

formidable incorruptible foe and attacked with revisionist disease and bourgeois penetration. If Maoists and the “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists had existed during the epoch of Leninist-Stalinist Comintern, they would have undoubtedly been unmasked and annihilated as what they really are: the best servers of the interests of capitalist-imperialist system. That’s why nowadays they still feel terrified only to hear the name of the glorious Leninist-Stalinist Comintern and they demonize and denigrate it in order to do their utmost not to have it back.

And their claims that the Comintern was born from an authoritative claim of a certain party from a country to be the “mother party” and to “hamper the independent development within each party” are totally false. The Comintern was formed by multiple sections, each one corresponding to the genuinely communist and workers’ parties of Leninist-Stalinist type of each country. No section ever claimed to be its “centre” or tried to interfere, to pressure or to impose its despotic will on the internal affairs of the other sections, not even the CPSU (B) which, by the way, was – together with the PLA – one of the most principled and successful parties of Leninist-Stalinist type that ever existed and who gave the most and best help for the matter of the world proletariat. All sections exercised revolutionary communist vigilance over each the other in order to avoid penetration of bourgeois-capitalist-revisionist elements and influences and the sections worked together for the great cause of world socialism and world communism in accord with the teachings of the Classics under the leadership of the directive organs of the Comintern, which also exercised functions of revolutionary communist vigilance and whose general directives were applicable to all sections – at least, this was what occurred before 1935. The Maoist revisionists and the “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists are the ones who gravely hamper world workers through spreading lies and calumnies about one of the main weapons of the world proletarians and workers in the struggle against world capitalism-imperialism: the former glorious Comintern of Lenin and Stalin.

And it is astounding to see how the “4 and ½ heads” – who are among the most disgusting, manipulative and deceitful neo-revisionists – even dare to affirm that the former glorious Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist Comintern which unwaveringly embraced and followed the teachings of those who were then the 4 existing Classics of Marxism-Leninism at the epoch was allegedly “dangerous and prevented independent thinking”! They are the ones who want to condemn world workers to a totalitarian and endless exploitative repressive rule whose inevitable and endless quest for profit maximization seriously threatens the survival of our planet and who struggle for the survival of the world bourgeois class. Unfortunately for them, the Comintern (SH), the only true successor and the only authentic continuation of the former Comintern in the conditions of nowadays’ globalization, will lead world proletarians, workers and other exploited and oppressed classes towards armed violent socialist revolution and maintenance of world proletarian dictatorship, of world socialism and communism always in accord with the teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism. And when world proletarian and socialist revolution comes, Maoist revisionists, “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists and the murderous exploitative and oppressive wage slavagist system which they defend will be implacably, totally and definitively torn into pieces.

Another similarity between the “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists and Maoist revisionists is that relatively to the issue of “anti-monopolist capitalism”. For example, the Danish “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists affirm that:

“(…) the struggle of the working class and the great majority must have the following main directions: Stop the Monopolies, the Bureaucrats (...).» (<http://www.apk2000.dk/>, *All Together against Capital*, 2000, edition in English)

This statement has obvious resemblances with the famous “anti-monopolist” claims from the Maoists:

“The revolution of the New Democracy only wants to eliminate (...) the monopolist capitalism, (...) and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and not capitalism in general (...).” (Mao Zedong, *La situation actuelle et nos tâches*, Oeuvres choisies, Pékin, 1967, t. IV, translated from French language)

We observe how the “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists and the Maoist revisionists try to convince workers that there are two kinds of capitalism and two kinds of bourgeoisie: a not monopolist “good one” and a monopolist “bad one”; a not bureaucratic “good one” and a bureaucratic “bad one”. Proletarians, workers and other exploited and oppressed classes must struggle against the “bad ones” while leaving the “good ones” alone. This theory is entirely reactionary and anti-socialist.

So, the Chinese revisionists and the “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists think that not all capitalism and not all bourgeoisie have inherent tendency to monopoly and bureaucracy but only a part of it, and they even explicitly affirm that the struggle of workers must be mostly directed against monopolist-bureaucrat-capitalism. Therefore, we conclude that, accordingly with them, laboring classes must struggle against a supposed “monopolist-bureaucratic” kind of bourgeois-capitalism, and not against all kinds of it. Of course, relatively to the Maoists, having the CPC’s historical course in mind, we must conclude that when the Chinese revisionists are referring to the struggle against monopolist-bureaucrat-capitalism, they are referring to the struggle against the former bourgeoisie of the comprador type whose interests were in opposition with those of the Chinese national bourgeoisie which Mao and the “C”PC defended, promoted and represented.

In fact, this common position of the Maoists and the « 4 and ½ heads » neo-revisionists against what they call « monopolist-bureaucratic bourgeois-capitalist order » is completely fallacious because bourgeois-capitalist system has an inherent and inevitable tendency to monopoly and bureaucracy. This because the Classics of Marxism-Leninism teach us that so-called “petty-bourgeois-capitalism” where supposedly « free and equal competition » still exists inevitably originates monopolist capitalism. This was indeed the case with Maoist China, where after having defeated its rival bourgeoisie of the comprador type, the Chinese national bourgeoisie managed to transform itself into a social-fascist monopolist bourgeoisie (with an unmistakably bureaucratic nature, of course) exercising absolute control over the country’s capitalist political-socio-economic system and turning China into a social-imperialist superpower.

We, Stalinists-Hoxhaists, know that bourgeois-capitalism has always a bureaucratic and monopolist nature, it is never dynamic nor progressive nor “human”, contrary to what its propagandists claim. Therefore, if we fight against bourgeois-capitalist system, we must also fight against the monopolist-bureaucratic nature which is inevitably inherent to it. Consequently, it does not make any sense to affirm that we will fight against “monopolist-bureaucratic-capitalism”, because all capitalism has an inherent inescapable tendency to monopoly and bureaucracy. Once more, to affirm the contrary is to be a complete opportunist and a counter-revolutionary which tries to distinguish between an alleged “bad” capitalism (bureaucratic-capitalism) and an alleged “good” capitalism (non monopolist-bureaucratic capitalism), when every communist knows that such “distinction does not exist”.

And also the “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists use these « anti-monopolist » and « anti-bureaucrat » theories in order to keep the oppressed and exploited classes away from authentic MLSH, from socialist revolution, from proletarian dictatorship through making the « bourgeois-democratic » and anti-monopolist revolution as an end in itself. They try to commonly depict the « struggle against monopolist capitalism » as the « infalible cure » to all evils inherent to wage slavagist system. They are not the only ones spreading this anti-socialist idea. Also the reformist anti-socialist Boukharin, one of the ideologic inspirators of Mao, would defend the same « ideas », namely that to liberate exploited and oppressed toiling classes is not necessary to make a violent armed socialist revolution with subsequent implementation of proletarian dictatorship. No. For that, it would supposedly suffice to « eliminate monopolist capitalism ». What the Boukharinists, Maoists, the « 4 and ½ heads » neo-revisionists want is a return to « primitive capitalism », to its « free competition » which would represent a « positive » kind of capitalism, without exploitation or oppression, where the working class and the bourgeois class would « freely concur among them as equals » – in opposition to what occurs in monopolist capitalism. This opportunist and idealist theory must be unmasked.

In first place, it is entirely false that monopolist capitalism simply annihilates concurrence. This can never be completely eliminated by capitalism even during its last monopolist-imperialist development. We know that comrade Lenin always insisted that monopoly capitalism did not suppress competition, but it had indeed complicated this phenomenon. The monopoly born of competitive capitalism only complicates its laws while expanding on its same basis. The experience of the development of capitalism also confirms this notion because, on the one hand, we are witnessing the centralization and fusion of large monopolist trusts and the struggle between them, and on the other hand, we are witnessing the survival of concurrence in new forms between small capitalists. Not understanding this dialectical phenomenon of concurrence in the era of monopoly capitalism would be synonym of advocating the “peaceful means” of Kautsky on the basis of so-called “ultra-imperialism” where competition would have allegedly disappeared.

Moreover, the Maoists and the “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists also do their utmost to spread their “anti-monopolist” theories with the purpose of preventing the proletariat and

the other exploited and oppressed laboring classes from acquiring their own MLSh class conscience. In fact, through presenting the “monopolist-bureaucratic capitalism” as the main enemy, they are promoting their reactionary “union” with certain sections of the bourgeoisie in order to get them submerged in bourgeois and anti-socialist influences, ideologies and forces.

And this because thanks to the so-called “monopolist capitalism” – presented as source of all evils - they found a common enemy to the proletariat, to the other toiling classes but also to the middle and petty-bourgeoisie: the monopolies. Thus, by presenting monopolies as the only target, the Maoists and the “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists resume the Boukharinist idea of peaceful integration of the non-monopoly bourgeoisie into socialism. They resume Boukharin's theses on the possibility of curbing crises in the capitalist system. This position cannot surprise us since it results from the same anti-communist and pro-capitalist ideological roots. For the Maoists, the “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists like for Bukharin, the “elimination” of monopolies would allow that capitalist system could have a planned stable economy, with all its contradictions solved without armed socialist revolution neither violent proletarian dictatorship. And of course, without annihilation of the capitalist-imperialist system and of its dominant bourgeois class, that would, obviously, continue to exist and to exercise its wage slavagist yoke over proletarians, workers and other classes exploited and oppressed by it. In the end, they are defending the “integration” of capitalism into socialism, whose impossibility and counter-revolutionary nature we have unmasked in this and in other articles. They will resume exactly Boukharin's theses of 1919, when he opposed that the CPSU (B) would took monopolist capitalism as the basis of socialization, and who advocated instead an “alliance” with the petty and middle bourgeoisie to oppose “the big bourgeoisie”. We know that comrade Lenin's conception was quite different: for the 3rd Classic of Marxism-Leninism, it was necessary to support the development of the monopolist bourgeois class, and it was necessary to encourage this development to create the material basis for a successful advancement towards socialism. Accordingly with comrade Lenin:

“(…) Socialism is nothing more than the state capitalist monopoly made to benefit the whole people and that, for that reason, has ceased from being a capitalist monopoly.” (Lenin, *La catastrophe imminente et les moyens de la conjurer*, *Oeuvres*, op. cit., t. 25, translated from French language)

Recalling our last quotation from Mao, we note that he associated himself with the idea of the struggle against “monopoly-bureaucratic capitalism”. But what Mao is apparently denying here is the need to achieve the economic development of monopoly capitalism as the only real economic basis for socialism (we write “apparently” because only in words in defended this to keep working classes away from genuinely socialist ideology. In practice, Mao was a staunch promoter of the development of capitalism – with all its inevitably inherent monopolist and bureaucratic tendencies - in China, of the interests of the Chinese national bourgeoisie that would become a monopolist-bureaucratic capitalist-imperialist bourgeoisie). Thus, Maoist “New Democracy” and also the “anti-monopolist” screams of the “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists can be defined as the idealization of the

bourgeois system of “free competition”. On the basis of such a system we could actually imagine that the bourgeoisie would agree to integrate peacefully this “socialism”.

This constitutes something that Maoists, Boukharinists and also the “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists will commonly develop, and this is not a coincidence, because having the anti-socialist nature, it is natural that they develop similar reactionary theories.

The “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists and social-fascists also foster the worldwide interests of world capitalism-imperialism in general and of Chinese social-imperialism in particular through falsely depicting as “anti-imperialist” the social-fascist countries which are presently among its most faithful neo-colonies:

“Solidarity with Cuba, North Korea and other countries being threatened by imperialism!” (<http://www.apk2000.dk/>, *All Together against Capital*, 2000, edition in English)

As we have already proved in our articles about Cuban and Korean revisionisms and also in other texts, the anti-communist regimes like those of social-fascists, revisionists and pro-imperialists Castroist Cuba and Kim Il Sungist North Korea are not anti-imperialist. On the contrary, far from being “threatened by imperialism”, they are currently fully integrated and are complete neo-colonial satellites of world capitalist-imperialist bourgeois class in general and of Chinese social-imperialist bourgeois class in particular. To act like the “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists - who encourage workers to abandon struggle for the destruction of social-fascist states and to support them instead with the excuse that “they are anti-imperialist” - means in fact to promote not only the maintenance in power of those countries’ ruling bourgeois-capitalist-revisionist cliques but also the interests of Chinese social-imperialists, who take enormous profitable advantages of the neo-colonial submission of these cliques to themselves.

We must take all this into consideration when the “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists make statements like this:

“There are, in any case, a number of self-styled 'Hoxhaist' and 'Maoist' 'parties' who so thoroughly and dogmatically take from comrades Mao Tse-tung and (!!!) Enver Hoxha the unique qualities of the processes undergone in China and (!!!) Albania, and attempt to give them a universal quality, that they have alienated themselves from these self-same comrades they claim to follow. Like it or not, they are often closer to Trotskyism (!!!) in their supposedly 'class' positions; and are, at bottom, pro-imperialist. (!!!)” (<https://www.facebook.com/groups/250106718507259/>, Eduardo Eduardo Artés Brichetti, *Chilean Communist Party, Proletarian Action – CIPOML*, 2014, edition in English)

Relatively to our supposed “pro-imperialism”, we will not waste more time with it. Right above, we provided proof of who is really pro-imperialist. In what respects to the allegations of supposedly “unique qualities of the processes undergone in Albania”, we will say that, in its official theoretical documents, the Comintern (SH) already displayed

behind any reasonable doubts that the experiences from socialist construction in comrade Enver's Albania and the invincible teachings of Hoxhaism have undeniable universal character, thus they are universally applicable and can be considered as general socio-economic laws – just also happens with those from Marxism, Leninism and Stalinism. This insistence of the “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists in denying Hoxhaism's universal nature is closely related with their defense of so-called “specific socialisms” – which is, by the way, another characteristic they share with Maoist / Chinese revisionism, as Maoism also propagates its own “Chinese socialism”, alongside with the Titoites' “Yugoslav Socialism”, with Thorez social-chauvinist “French road to socialism”, and with many others. Of course, there can be certain national particularities which will dictate some specificities of socialist construction. However, the Classics of Marxism-Leninism always noticed that those specificities are always limited to minor and secondary aspects of the socialist edification and can never be extended to its essential characteristics, because armed violent socialist revolution, proletarian dictatorship, the construction of socialism and communism must follow a certain and invariable line in accordance with the teachings of the Classics, regardless of the place. Of course, this is even more accurate nowadays when we are already in the second stage of globalized socialism. To defend and affirm the contrary - like the “4 and ½ heads” do - means to try to prevent working classes from embracing MLSH, convincing them to rely instead on “specific socialisms” intended at covering the continuation of exploitation, oppression and wage slavery with “red” deceitful slogans. In our General-Line, referring to Maoist / Chinese revisionism, we noted something relative to this issue that is also suitable to all other types of “national socialisms” and “national Marxism”:

“The so-called "national Marxism" is anti-Marxism, is bourgeois "Marxism", which is in antagonistic contradiction to the internationalist, proletarian Marxism. A global mixture of all revisionist ideas can therefore never replace the monolithic world-proletarian ideology. There is the only unity among all varieties of national "Marxisms", namely, the unity in the fight against the internationalist Marxism. But this "unit" is doomed to failure, because the internationalist Marxism is invincible! This has proven the history over and over again. Of course, nothing can be found in China's "general line" about the necessity and inevitability of the socialist world revolution and even less under the leadership of the Communist International.

With the XX. Congress of the CPSU, thus with Khrushchev's "*possibility of different paths to socialism*", the Chinese revisionists were essentially in accordance with the Khrushchevites and consequently also against the Comintern and its reconstruction. They agreed in all, to betray the line of Stalin, the path to communism. They were only in disagreement on the distribution of their power. To topple the Soviet revisionists from their pedestal, the Chinese disguised their own revisionism behind the anti-revisionism in general and behind the struggle against Soviet revisionism in particular. Anti-revisionism in words and revisionism in deeds - that is the physiognomy of Maoism.” [General-Line of the Comintern (SH), *Historical teachings of the Comintern and of the Communist World Movement*, Chapter VIII, 2011, edition in English]

A touch-stone for the defence of comrade Enver Hoxha is the defence of his anti-Maoist teachings. With this touch-stone we have to measure the ideology of the “4 ½ Heads”. This ideology denies acknowledging the 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism. Logically it denies to acknowledge and to apply Enver Hoxha's anti-Maoist teachings. Reducing a Classic of Marxism-Leninism to only a half, this means logically reducing his ideology to only a half. And, indeed, the “4 ½ Heads” reduce Enver Hoxha's anti-Maoism to a half. However what is half a struggle against Maoism worth? Nothing! In the contrary – a “half Enver Hoxha” disqualifies the 5th Classic. The smallest deviation from the teachings of comrade Enver Hoxha means nothing but a concession to the bourgeois ideology, means betrayal at the revolutionary matter of the world proletariat.

Maoism can only be defeated through complete application of the lessons of comrade Enver Hoxha. A half-assed “struggle against Maoism”, this opens all doors to opportunists, centrists, reconciliators etc. The ideology of the “½ Heads” is a hostile ideology against the Stalinist-Hoxhaist World Movement and the Comintern (SH) and paralyzes, undermines and demoralizes the Stalinist-Hoxhaist struggle against Maoism.

In last consequence, this ideology of the “4 ½ Heads” serves not the communists but the Maoists in particular, and the revisionists, in general. And this expresses the whole physiognomy of neo-revisionism as the prolonged arm of the revisionists within the anti-Maoist movement.

We must also denounce the attitude of the “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists in equating us Hoxhaists with Maoists and Trotskyists, in trying to discredit us in front of the world proletarians, workers and other exploited and oppressed classes through associating with us all the reactionary and anti-communist “theories” and crimes fabricated and committed by Maoist revisionists and Trotskyist revisionists. Relatively to Maoism, we have already explained countless times its true nature and aims and we have already shown who are the ones having everything in common with it (which includes the “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists, of course). Relatively to Trotskyist revisionism, in this and in previous sub-chapters of this DWM IV we presented the similarities that it has in common with Maoist revisionism and, consequently and necessarily, also with the “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists. One of the main “arguments” that the “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists direct against us in order to “justify” our qualification as Trotskyists is our defense of socialist revolution on a global scale. With this, far from having invented anything new, the “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists are “imitating” the Soviet revisionists, who were irreconcilable enemies of world socialist revolution and hid this behind their alleged “fight” against the counter-revolutionary Trotskyist view that the construction of socialism “in a single country” was only possible after the world armed violent proletarian socialist revolution triumphed. Today, we Stalinist-Hoxhaists, are deceitfully qualified as Trotskyists because we spread the world socialist revolution. In the fight against us and against the world socialist revolution, liquidators and neo-revisionists like those of the “4 and ½ heads” are still based on Soviet revisionism! So, as we can observe, all revisionist and neo-revisionist currents are closely linked among them, they share the same anti-communist characteristics and objectives.

That is why we must struggle against all kinds of revisionism, neo-revisionism and anti-communism, regardless of their respective misleading tricks and of their apparent “red and revolutionary colors”! A good contribution to this would undoubtedly be a future article only dedicated to firmly denounce, unmask, expose and condemn the neo-revisionist, social-fascist and anti-socialist CIPOML from our authentic Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist-Hoxhaist positions, from the positions of the Comintern (SH). We shall accomplish this task in its due time.

2.7 – The false “anti-Maoism” of standard (open) anti-communists



Mao with Nixon

The last sub-chapter of this DWM IV dealing with a determined type of false “anti-Maoism” will be dedicated to that practiced by the “classic” (open) anti-communists.

Contrary to what has occurred with the other sub-chapters, in this we will not deal with an “anti-Maoism” coming from a revisionist or neo-revisionist current. And this because all kinds of revisionism and neo-revisionism have, to a more or less extent, resorted to any kinds of “socialistic” slogans and masks aimed precisely at better misleading proletarians, workers and other exploited and oppressed classes to convince them that a certain revisionist tendency was indeed able to emancipate them from wage slavery, thus encouraging them to embrace such revisionist current while refusing MLSh and allowing the perpetuation of capitalist-imperialist system. On the contrary, the positions of “standard” anti-communists that we will analyze right now do not utilize any tactics like

those. They display and propagate their explicitly anti-communist positions in an entirely open manner, without “red” cloaks or subterfuges.

This kind of anti-communism was the first one to emerge, but the consciousness of the world proletariat will develop to such a high degree that open anti-communism is becoming increasingly rare, and for obvious reasons. One day, its capacity to deceive laboring classes will be far behind that displayed by large numbers of revisionist and neo-revisionist currents, which dress themselves with “communist” and even “Marxist-Leninist” cloaks. As we can learn from the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin, open anti-communism was forbidden under the dictatorship of the proletariat and as good as eliminated. The anti-communists were therefore forced to disguise their anti-communism behind communist “phraseology” in general and personal cult of Stalin in particular. This phenomenon is known as “speaking with two tongues”. And for the purpose to regain power in the Soviet Union, the anti-communists had no other alternative than to become members of the CPSU (B) and to conquer its leadership from inside. And this hidden anti-communist tactics was victorious after the death of comrade Stalin – as history has proved.

In the present time of the global domination of darkest reactionary, anti-communist ideology of the world bourgeoisie, we can never underestimate open anti-communism! True, open anti-communism began with primitive forms in history. But meanwhile even open anti-communism appears in “modern” forms. Anti-communism of today is represented in forms of historical “science” - namely in all the media all over the world – daily, hourly.... the influence of open anti-communism upon great parts of the workers of today is far bigger than that of the already discredited modern revisionists and its complete integration and assimilation into the capitalist world system. And even the influence of the neo-revisionists upon the whole world proletariat is much smaller than that of open anti-communism, and we should also not forget that our own Stalinist-Hoxhaist influence on the whole world proletariat is still extremely minimal. Open anti-communism is thus still the main weapon of propaganda against communism (remember: to pave the way for the physical liquidation of the communists in the coming revolutionary situations)!! Remember that the first sentence of the Communist Manifesto is still valid in this dark, anti-communist world:

“A spectre is haunting Europe — the spectre of communism. All the powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre”.

Revisionism is in the service of open anti-communism!!! - What would revisionism and neo-revisionism be worth of, if it would not be linked to open anti-communism?

*We must unmask the **double strategy** of open **and** hidden bourgeois anti-Maoism!*

Both log-roll our Stalinist-Hoxhaist struggle against Maoism. Neo-Revisionist “anti-Maoism” paves the way to revisionist “anti-Maoism” and revisionism paves the way towards open reactionary “anti-Maoism” (= open anti-communism).

This corresponds with the relationship between social-fascism and fascism. Fascism and social-fascism are the most brutal form of hidden and open anti-communism. They are all twins, or two sides of the same coin. The significance of open anti-communism in combination with the counter-revolutionary ideology hidden behind “anti-Maoism” - is indispensable for the counter-revolution.

With “standard” anti-communists, the “theories”, actions and objectives of the bourgeoisie and of other exploitative and oppressive classes in maintaining their class profits, positions and privileges through preventing the annihilation of global bourgeois-capitalist-imperialist exploitative and oppressive wage slavagist system through world socialist revolution and global proletarian dictatorship towards world socialism and world communism are clearly recognizable and are easily disclosed with the subsequent loss of misleading efficacy. On the contrary, the strategies and masks used by revisionists and neo-revisionists, in spite of having exactly the same origins and purposes, are more difficult to unmask, and thus more efficient to mislead toiling classes. We just have to recall the situation of the neo-revisionists (this expression means “anti-revisionists” in words, but revisionists in deeds), who struggle to avoid socialism and to prevent the acquisition of a truly MLSH conscience and the subsequent delaying of world socialism and communism by using “anti-revisionist” and even alleged “Stalinist-Hoxhaist” slogans and cloaks.

But once more, we can never minimize the actual effect of open anti-communism upon vast parts of workers all over the world, especially in the “Western World”. As Marx and Engels teaches: the economically ruling class rules also over the ideological means of influence on oppressed and exploited classes. The ruling class of today is the world bourgeoisie – to a great deal the monopoly bourgeoisie of the USA who influences - with greatest efforts since decades - ideologically over vast parts of the oppressed and exploited classes all over the world. There is no country of the world where is no open anti-communism. Open Anti-Communism is everywhere present all over the world. Of course, there are differences in its extent - depending in every individual country. Open anti-Maoism is bigger outside China than inside China etc. etc.

For example, in Portugal, the influence of the revisionists is larger than in Germany, and in the Eastern countries influence of revisionism (especially the elder generation in contrast to the younger generation) is larger than in the Western countries etc. etc. But there is a global tendency of bourgeois ideological influence which dominates successively that of the influence of the national bourgeoisie in single countries which cannot be ignored. And indeed, the Comintern (SH) has expected this development and this is rooted in our Platform (2009) – the creation of world-socialist consciousness within the whole world proletariat in general and in the global industrial proletariat, in particular. The victory of the socialist world revolution depends on the victory of the world proletariat over the world bourgeoisie which includes the victory of the world-socialist consciousness over the dominating world-bourgeois consciousness. The victory of the world-socialist consciousness is impossible without the defeat of all anti-communism all over the world – consisting of both hidden AND open anti-communism.

Comrade Stalin wrote in his “letters of Kutais” that the dominating consciousness of the workers is bourgeois consciousness as a consequence of the class-domination of the bourgeoisie. Stalin taught us how we must struggle for replacing bourgeois consciousness through socialist consciousness. Between that time of Kutais and today the socialist consciousness of the workers was already dominating and also frustrated by revisionist consciousness. Therefore, the conditions have changed extraordinarily. Today, our task of implementing world-socialist consciousness is much more complicated and difficult to fulfill because this struggle between communism and anti-communism takes place on a higher level of globalized class-struggle in general, and especially in the revisionist world in which capitalism was already restored. We must restore socialist consciousness by replacing restored bourgeois consciousness in the countries of restored capitalism [Soviet Union and Albania]. [and the bourgeoisie needs unavoidably the same steps of changing socialist consciousness of the workers – thus from hidden anti-communism to open anti-communism.

If the revolution is marching forward than the bourgeoisie needs more hidden anti-communism. If the revolution is marching backwards than the counter-revolution answers with more open anti-communism, but always in connection of hidden and open anti-communism. It is the same appearance with increasing “left” opportunism in revolutionary upswing on the one side, and increasing rightist opportunism in revolutionary downswing on the other side. Related to Maoism: in the so called “cultural revolution” dominated “leftist” Maoism and after that dominated “rightist” Maoism. And related to the so called “Sino-Soviet Split” dominated “leftist” Maoism as long as the Soviet revisionists dominated the world movement. After the restoration of capitalism in the SU, “rightist” Maoism dominated in China. These deviations to the “left” and to the right is expression of the special form of Maoism's centrism for strengthening the Chinese bourgeoisie through all crises and setbacks. (Of course “opportunist ping-pong” is not equal to the Two-Front-Struggle of the Bolsheviks).

This is different from creating socialist class-consciousness in the revisionist, social-fascist, anti-communist countries both past and present which have never been socialist and had never anything to do with authentic proletarian dictatorship (China, Cuba, North Korea, East Germany, Vietnam, etc.), and again different from creating socialist consciousness in the non-revisionist countries in the “rest” of the capitalist world. But what is always and everywhere on the world necessary is this – creating all over the world the world-socialist consciousness which is based on the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism. In the Platform of the Comintern (SH) we have pointed to the necessary new world-socialist consciousness of the global industrial proletariat which must replace global ideological influence of the globally ruling bourgeoisie as a pre-condition of the victory of the socialist world revolution.

And this global bourgeois influence consists not only of hidden anti-communism but this appears always and unavoidably in connection with open anti-communism.

Concerning the restoration of bourgeois consciousness in the former revisionist countries: The main tendency of bourgeois ideological influence is the restoration of open

anticommunism (especially among the younger generation; while in the elder generation remains still socialist [Leninist-Stalinist] and, unfortunately, also hidden anti-communism [Soviet revisionism; Chinese revisionism, Titoism, Guevara-Castroism, KimIlSungism etc. depending on the individual revisionist/former revisionist country]). This different situation can only be changed by different methods and different main focus of variously handling the balance of struggle between open and hidden anti-communism in different countries and different background of ideological influence in these different countries.

In the present start-up phase of the Comintern (SH) we focus on the workers with most advanced class-consciousness. We open their eyes about neo-revisionism as the main danger in the communist world movement. And our *“Declaration of war against Maoism”* is indispensable part of this task. In this start-up phase we are yet not able to convince the *majority* of the world proletariat about world communism. In this start-up phase, we are organizationally too weak to help the entire world proletariat escaping from bourgeois ideological influence of anti-communism which will certainly not disappear by itself. This would require a type of world party which is already anchored in the masses. And this is still impossible in the present phase of construction of the Comintern (SH). The Bolshevik type of a leading global proletarian mass organization requires at first the creation of the organized vanguard of the world proletariat. The formation of the vanguard of the world proletariat is now our central task. Victory over open anti-communism on a global scale is only possible by a world proletariat which is ideologically already equipped with the lessons of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism. The victory of the socialist world revolution requires the victory of the world-socialist consciousness of the proletariat. With other words: we must train ideologically the most revolutionary elements of the world proletariat who will be then able to spread the world-communist ideas into the masses.

Our more particular tasks are: Changing the restoration of open anti-communist consciousness into the restoration of socialist consciousness in combination with the restoration of hidden anti-communism into restoration of socialist consciousness which does nothing mean else than developing the world-socialist consciousness [and looking into the future development: the world bourgeoisie is successively FORCED to mask herself with hidden anti-Stalinism-Hoxhaism if she will succeed in changing world-socialist consciousness into a bourgeois-revisionist consciousness]. This general-line must be applied differently under different conditions in the different countries. Mainly, this depends both on the special influence of the bourgeoisie in every country and on the increasing global ideological influence of the world bourgeoisie.

Under conditions of today, the world bourgeoisie will never renounce her means and instruments of open anti-communism. Open anti-communism is absolutely able to adapt to the constantly changing conditions of class-struggle, particularly under conditions of globalization and last not least to prevent the danger of the socialist world revolution (We assume that the bourgeois employs hundreds of specialists who observe permanently the development of class-consciousness of the world proletariat).

The tendency for redbaiting is increasingly high. Chivvy against communists will increase and class-contradictions will exacerbate. Word fascism means bestial open anti-communism as pre-condition for bestial elimination of communists.

Nowadays, open anti-communism is more spread all over the world than ever before. Therefore our struggle against open anti-communism is a great challenge for the Comintern (SH), especially open reactionary anti-Maoism which is aimed against communism and not against revisionism.

We know that this DWM IV would not be complete without at least some brief reference and explanation of the phony “anti-Maoism” fabricated by “standard” anti-communist organizations, which has been historically intimately linked with open fascist dictatorship of the bourgeois class and whose main influence is felt in Western countries. After all, independently of what can happen in the future, nowadays such “anti-Maoism” is still practiced and anti-communists of “classic” open type still exist and influence a great number of workers.

Open anti-communism **makes no difference** between communism and revisionism. **Open anti-communism blames both the communists and the revisionists for the same crimes, which communists have never committed but revisionists have committed indeed.** Open anti-communists blame both as “dictators” - Mao *AND* comrade Enver Hoxha, no matter that this blame applies only to Mao and not to comrade Enver Hoxha, applies only to revisionists and social-fascists but not to communists. And the leaders of the “4 and a half Heads” follow these footsteps when blaming Hoxhaism and Maoism as anti-Marxism-Leninism in one blow.

Therefore it is very comfortable for open anti-communists to foist the crimes of the revisionists and social-fascists on the communists namely for the purpose to libel and compromise communism and its international leaders like Enver Hoxha and Stalin. And we will not fail to mention the fact that world imperialists openly and hiddenly supported the anti-communist Mao, supported and still support other revisionist-social-fascist states and organizations as bulwarks against the world proletariat, the socialist revolution, against the ideology of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism, and last not least against communists and other revolutionaries and their organizations. The anti-communist crimes of the revisionists are only part of the countless anti-communist crimes of the whole world-imperialist system which is the biggest and most brutal world system of tyranny – based on the bourgeois ideology of anti-communism.

In clear opposition to the astute trickeries and demagogical phraseology used by revisionist and neo-revisionist currents, the approach adopted by these “standard” anti-communist organizations does not vary and is always roughly the same: to demonize socialist revolution and proletarian dictatorship by depicting them as “terrifying bloody tyrannies slaughtering millions” which would deny “freedom to the people”.

Another characteristic is their insistence in presenting as “communist” even the most obviously revisionist, reformist and social-fascist tendencies and states, in a inept

desperate attempt to disgust workers from the struggle for the inevitable necessity of a stateless, classless society free from all kinds of exploitation and oppression. Of course, they have always failed this and they will continue failing this, but they apply this same tactic relatively to Maoist revisionist China, which they present as an “unbearable communist hell”. To provide a concrete example of our assertions, we will quote an excerpt of an article authored by an American reactionary and anti-communist organization called “Tradition, Family and Property” (TFP - the name says it all...):

“(...) one is amazed that even today there are Mao apologists living in the freedom-loving countries of the West. (Mao was) a brutal dictator.” (<http://www.tfp.org/tfp-home/tfp-recommends-books/unmasking-mao-the-unknown-story-of-a-twentieth-century-tyrant.html>, *Unmasking Mao*, 2007, edition in English)

“(...) liberal students praised mass-murderer Mao.” (<http://www.tfp.org/current-campaigns/2007/taking-a-stand-at-gettysburg-college.html>, *Taking a Stand at Gettysburg College*, 2007, edition in English)

As can be observed, Mao is presented as a “brutal dictator” and a “mass murder”. While it is indeed true that Mao and Chinese revisionists in general have committed dreadful crimes against Chinese proletarians, workers and other exploited and oppressed classes, it is also true that they fully supported and fostered all kinds of reactionary, bourgeois-capitalist, anti-socialist ideologies, forces and elements, allowing them free reign to detach Chinese laborers from acquiring a genuinely socialist conscience. Maoist, revisionist, social-imperialist China was and until nowadays is a social-fascist state where toiling classes are harshly repressed and exploited while bourgeois-capitalist-imperialist class and everything linked with it hold exclusive dominance. A proof of this is that the gentlemen from “Tradition, Family and Property” are the ones admitting with their own mouths that “even liberal students praise Mao”. This is hardly in agreement with the false image of Mao as the “Stalinist butcher” they try to spread. Indeed, logically, there are not any “liberals” (read: bourgeois-capitalist-imperialist lackeys and ideologues just like the so-called conservative “anti-liberal” ones from “TFP”). It is really amazing to note the false “divisions” and “oppositions” that bourgeois class has fabricated among its ideologues only to deceive workers and to deviate them from MLSH...) defending the 4th Classic of Marxism-Leninism, but there are plenty of them defending Mao. This alone tells us a lot about Mao’s inherently anti-socialist nature.

Already in Mao’s times, comrade Enver quoted Mao:

“In the Communist Party of China Mao has cultivated his own cult and has not applied the great teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the class struggle, iron proletarian discipline, or the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Communist Party of China has been built up and imbued with liberal, reformist norms and two or more lines. Hence for Mao and the Communist Party of China the basic theses of Marxism-Leninism are fictitious. People like Mao Tsetung accuse Stalin of having allegedly made mistakes in connection with the class struggle, while they themselves claim that in socialism the class struggle becomes gradually weaker. Indeed Mao

Tsetung says quite openly that we should not wage the class struggle, should not execute the criminals, should not shoot the dangerous enemies, or put anyone in prison. However, this was never Stalin's way. In practice, he carried the struggle against the enemies of the people through to the end, sternly and with determination. Mao Tsetung provides five or six excuses to exonerate the counter-revolution, to defend it and in this way tries to «prove» that his course is allegedly correct and Marxist-Leninist. Mao claims he wants to eliminate violence, capital punishment, the law courts and the procuratorial organs, to avoid punishing counterrevolutionaries. He advocates only education and propaganda. Where is the class struggle on Mao's part in all this? Where does the dictatorship of the proletariat exist in his views and practice? (...)

At first we killed some counterrevolutionaries,» he (Mao) admits, «but we should not kill any more, should not imprison them, should not put them on trial (...)» etc., etc. «We can keep the law on capital punishment in force,» says Mao, «but should not apply it in practice!» What is this? This is not class struggle. Such a stand does not wipe out the counterrevolution, does not eliminate the exploiting classes. (...) He keeps the capitalist reactionaries in the management of factories which have been their property, gives them income from these factories which have been nationalized, but which are considered partly theirs, and forgets that these factories have been built and extended by exploiting the blood and sweat of workers. Can this be called class struggle? No, this is not class struggle at all. According to Mao Tsetung, these former owners must be integrated into society, become part of society, be educated in society. (That means they must be integrated into socialism. Many bourgeois revisionist «theoreticians» as well as the Titoites and the «Eurocommunists», etc., are now talking a lot about the integration of capitalism into socialism, etc.) «This will be a very good thing,» claims Mao, «for many reasons, one of which is that we (the Chinese) will provide a good example for other countries in the world in this way.» (A «fine» example of how the enemies of the peoples are not combated!)

Lenin thought completely differently. He says: *«And the fight against this element cannot be waged solely with the aid of propaganda and agitation, solely by organizing competition and by selecting the organizers. This struggle must also be waged by means of coercion».* (Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China, Volume II*, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

So, if during Mao's and his successors' times, the gentlemen from "Tradition, Family and Property" and other counter-revolutionaries like them want to spread and exercise their backward anti-communism poison and activities in China, they would be entirely free from doing so as they pleased! Their only limitation would be prevention from promoting the interests of American imperialism, not because it represents "freedom and democracy" but simply because, far from that, it is rivaling with Chinese imperialism for neo-colonialist global dominion and wage slavagist profit maximization.

Besides this, only against authentic communists and proletarians aimed at awakening the conscience of Chinese laborers to the bourgeois-capitalist reality of their country and to

the anti-socialist nature of Chinese revisionism do Maoists indeed commit mass-murders and act as bloody tyrants. On the contrary, they would certainly receive the gentlemen from “Tradition, Family and Property” with open arms, as the purposes of their bourgeois-capitalist, wage slavagist and anti-communist ideology entirely coincide with those of Maoist revisionism. They are all ideological twins, except for the fact that Maoist anti-communism is by far more sophisticated, efficient, deceitful and hard to unmask than that of “Tradition, Family and Property”. Their “differences” and “inescapable oppositions” are solely intended to submerge workers in a fake “dilemma” between two essentially equal kinds of anti-communism.

Indeed, we must also note the amazing “worries” of “Tradition, Family and Property” with “tyranny” and “totalitarianism”, especially when this organization openly claims to represent the “most traditional values” of “freedom-loving countries of the West” such as the bourgeois-capitalist-imperialist anti-socialist USA which was built upon the dead bones of tens of millions of African slaves and of Amerindians, in which proletarians, workers and other exploited and oppressed classes suffer harsh wage slavagist bondage, whose bourgeois class always used clear violent and armed fascist and racist measures against all kinds of progressive movements at home and abroad, which always did its utmost to destroy socialist countries and Marxist-Leninist movements, which never hesitated in resorting to imperialist wars, fascist coups and all types of repression and slaughtering in its search for workforce, resources and maximum profits.

Of course, the notions of “freedom” of “Tradition, Family and Property” are in full agreement with that of Maoists and of the Chinese bourgeois class: the “freedom” and “democracy” to savagely exploit and oppress world toiling peoples and working classes in order to accumulate endless riches through imperialist and neo-colonialist expansion. We, Stalinists-Hoxhaists, know that it makes no sense to talk about “freedom” while stateless, classless, propertyless communist society entirely free from exploitation and oppression of all types is not ensured on a global scale.

In one of its published articles, another bulwark of “classic” anti-communism, the “Konrad Adenauer Foundation” (whose profoundly anti-socialist ideology has so much in common with Maoism that Chinese imperialist bourgeoisie even happily allows it to have an open office in Beijing... in face of this, it is incredible that there are still those capable of shamelessly affirming and / or believing that “China is a Stalinist country”...), also makes similar remarks to those of “Tradition, Family and Property”:

“The rejection of democracy by the Communist Party (of China) (...) predominantly describe the events.” (http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_34092-544-2-30.pdf?130828104155, *Presence and Future of the Past*, 2013, edition in English)

Our above affirmations are totally suitable also to this statement and to the mentioned article. We will only notice that it is truly interesting to note such concerns for “democracy” coming from an organization bearing the name of someone who once affirmed that “Mussolini’s name will be written in golden letters in the book of history”, who defended Nazi-fascism, who deliberately rehabilitated Nazi war criminals, who

transformed his country in an American neo-colony while turning it into an imperialist power within Europe, who was not even capable of entirely conforming with the appearances of bourgeois “democracy”, thus resorting to explicitly fascist measures, who did his utmost to actively support Iberian fascisms and who did his utmost to persecute, terrorize, imprison and kill authentic Marxists-Leninists not only in Germany but also in other countries. It is crystal clear that “democracy” for these “classic” anti-communists is not in anyway different from Mao’s “New Democracy”: it has always and inevitably class content, it is “democracy” only for bourgeois class which freely oppresses and exploits proletarians and other laboring classes to the bone.

The same can also be remarked relatively to the famous visit of Nixon to China in the early 70’s (about which we reflected on our DWM II). At the time of Nixon’s visit to China, comrade Enver noted that:

“To receive President Nixon and talk with him (...) is not correct and will not be accepted by the peoples, the revolutionaries and the genuine communists. We are among those who do not accept this decision and will not support it. The desires of this fascist president to go to China can be understood, they are the desires of an aggressor, a murderer of peoples, an enemy of communism, of socialism (...).”
(Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China*, Volume I, Tirana, 1979, edition in English)

Indeed, after many years complaining about the “lack of democracy in China”, American imperialist bourgeois class didn’t hesitate in changing their “speech” sending their representative Nixon – a “standard” anti-communist – to meet with Mao and with the other Chinese revisionists in order to perceive if it was possible to turn China into their neo-colony. As we have already explained in this and in other texts, this aim could not be accomplished, and so American imperialists eventually returned to their old false “anti-Maoism” which can be included in the type to which this sub-chapter is dedicated to. Of course, their phony “anti-Maoism” was entirely based on inter-imperialist rivalries and on their frustration for not being able neither to have China as their neo-colony, neither to prevent its transformation into a powerful rival imperialist superpower which is nowadays surpassing them and on the verge of world domination.

“Standard” anti-communism gets very expensive to global bourgeoisie. This because anti-communism in such an open and “sincere” form is a profoundly repulsive ideology, and those “ideologues” who “embrace” it do so in return for considerable payments and for some degree of access to bourgeois class’ privileges, profits and positions. Let’s just compare this with the much more capable tactics and strategies of hidden anti-communism from revisionists and neo-revisionists, which are even able to attract many workers sincerely believing that by adhering to them, they are really “struggling for communism” and do so with honest intentions and *pro bono*. The concealed anti-communism of revisionists and neo-revisionists is not less proficient and profitable than open anti-communism of “classic” kind. As world socialist revolution is inevitably approaching, as the objective and subjective factors get more and more mature for it, world bourgeois class understands that it can no longer use its old methods of domination, but must replace them by new ones substantially equal and with exactly the

same anti-communist and anti-MLSH objectives but more deceitful and thus more capable of delaying the inevitable necessary destruction of bourgeois-capitalist-imperialist system. But this would not mean that the world bourgeoisie would renounce open anti-communism. Thus, the correlation between fascism and colonialism, on one side, and bourgeois “democracy” (“democratic” dictatorship of the bourgeois class) and neo-colonialism, on the other side, is the same that exists between open “standard” anti-communism, on one side, and hidden revisionist and neo-revisionist “anti-communism”, on the other side.

Of course, the phony “anti-Maoism” of those “classic” anti-communists is also closely linked with the fact that they correctly perceive Maoist / Chinese revisionism as a dangerous rival in their competition for the class favors of world bourgeoisie, in their competition not to lose the advantaged positions that world bourgeois class always awards to its best and most talented lackeys. Being competent and useful to accomplish its goals, world bourgeoisie will continue to combine Maoist anti-communism with the basic and rude open bourgeois anti-Maoism for the purpose to influence both the backward and progressive parts of the working class. Maoism and other revisionist and neo-revisionist currents have made infinitely more in benefit of the interests of world bourgeois class in combination with “standard” anti-communists.

The revisionist Soviet Union does not exist anymore, however the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung still exists - in the Ukraine, in Beijing and elsewhere in the world for spreading its poison of open anti-communism. It is the duty of us Stalinist-Hoxhaists to destroy anti-communism wherever it appears. Therefore it is also our duty to destroy the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung which will never dissolve itself voluntarily. It can only be smashed in a heaviest class-struggle and socialist revolution of the working class – led by the Comintern (SH) !! If the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung would have already lost its influence – it would have long be superfluous and disappeared. However its existence proves the fact that it is still indispensable for the bourgeoisie in the struggle against communism. Therefore it is also necessary and unavoidable to struggle against it [just as our German Section did it very well concerning intervention of the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung in the Ukraine – by supporting the Western lackey Klitschko – or also against social-fascist “Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung” of the German Social democratic Party which spreads its open anti-communism in the countries of North-Africa]. Under-estimating open anti-communism leads to the danger of capitulationism and would be finally nothing but a crime against the working class.

History of anti-communism teaches that its hidden forms are much more dangerous to deceive the working class. That's why we define revisionism and especially neo-revisionism as the main danger in the communist world movement. However it would be also an inexcusable and fatal error to reduce the efforts in our struggle against open anti-communism. Especially, in acute revolutionary situations, and in a situation when increasing amounts of workers will reach a Stalinist-Hoxhaist consciousness, then the world bourgeoisie will increasingly resort to hidden forms of anti-communism with the purpose of delaying world socialist revolution and to jeopardize Communist World

Movement through their misleading theories which are “communistic” and even “anti-revisionist” in words but bourgeois-capitalist and pro-imperialist in deeds.

3 – Conclusions: Stalinist-Hoxhaist anti-Maoism - the only authentic one

Finally, after having analyzed some kinds of specific false “anti-Maoism”, it is time to briefly present our own anti-Maoism which is, of course, the only genuine one. And this is not surprising, because taking into account that the Comintern (SH) is the only truly communist organization in the world, the only which really struggles for socialism and communism as the vanguard, as the World Party of the global proletariat. Consequently, it had also to be the only to wage a fierce relentless combat against all kinds of revisionism, neo-revisionism and anti-communism – including against its Maoist current, of course.

It is not at all necessary to note here the absolute agreement that exists between Stalinism-Hoxhaism and today’s globalized reality. And this not only due to the fact that such has already been done in other documents of the Comintern (SH), but also because it is something so evident that it is self-imposing in a manner that does not admit doubts neither hesitation.

We, Stalinist-Hoxhaists, define as the main areas of the world violent armed socialist proletarian revolution those where the industrial proletariat is the most numerous and has a more profound degree of socialist consciousness. Under conditions of globalization, a new industrial proletariat was also created in low-wage countries – i.e., in the former colonies. Under the conditions of the first stage of socialism, this solution was still Trotskyist - as the petty bourgeoisie in Asia, Africa and Latin America prevailed and there was virtually no proletariat. But today this former Trotskyist slogan has to be modified accordingly with the conditions of globalization. There is now global capitalism in all countries of the world. Everywhere, the fundamental contradiction of labor and capital is the main contradiction in all countries of the world, therefore the world socialist revolution throughout the world is ripe. Everywhere not only wage labor and capital, but now a world proletariat and an equally gigantic world giant army of poor farmers is growing and prevailing. This makes the victory of the world socialist revolution inevitable, in spite of the efforts of all revisionists, neo-revisionists and anti-communists.

Historically, the Comintern (SH) has its roots not only in the world communist movement led by the CPSU (B), not only in the former glorious III International of comrades Lenin and Stalin, but also in the World Marxist-Leninist movement of comrade Enver Hoxha. And without neglecting the influences of the formers, it is in this last one that we can find the most direct contributions to the present anti-Maoist struggle of the Comintern (SH).

More precisely in 1978, when Maoist / Chinese revisionism was officially and openly denounced first by the PLA headed by comrade Enver, the first steps towards the drawing of a correct demarcation-line relatively to Maoist revisionism were taken. Since then, many things happened. After 1978, comrade Enver and the Marxists-Leninists in Albania and in other countries made more useful contributions to the further unmasking and condemnation of Maoist anti-socialism.

However, after the death of the 5th Classic of Marxism-Leninism in 1985, socialist Albania went through a process of neo-revisionist degeneration that ended up with the destruction of proletarian dictatorship, with capitalist restoration in Albania which from being the main world revolutionary center was transformed in a typical neo-colony of world capitalist-imperialist bourgeoisie. With this, also the Marxist-Leninist World Movement of comrade Enver Hoxha fell apart. It is true that even during its lifetime, the mentioned movement was affected by some problems. For example, there were so-called "comrades" from Sri Lanka that were agents of Chinese revisionists, like also happened with M. Hill from the "C" P of Australia; others, like those from the Italian brother-party, were agents of the Brejnevists within the Marxist-Leninist World Movement of comrade Enver Hoxha. But in spite of everything, this is a proof of how the line followed by the Marxist-Leninist World Movement of comrade Enver Hoxha was generally correct and how it was perceived as the world bourgeoisie as a menace to its class rule, profits and privileges, as the Soviet revisionists, the Chinese revisionists and many other anti-communists relentlessly tried to split this movement from inside as part of the 5th column of the bourgeois class!

Since then and until the founding of the Comintern (SH) in the early 2000's, the struggle not only against Maoism in itself but also against the kinds of false "anti-Maoism" was almost entirely stopped and practically without relevant developments. Only when the Comintern (SH) started to build its own theoretical bases it was possible to make new contributions to our demarcation-line not only against Maoism, but also against the types of false "anti-Maoism" against which this DWM IV is directed. It is very important to distinguish different positions from which Maoism is criticized. Stalinism-Hoxhaism is the only correct ideology which is able to defeat it. Drawing the demarcation line to all the so called "Anti-Maoist" branches was the issue and subject of this Fourth Chapter of DWM. Just like had occurred with the previous DWM, the DWM IV aims at providing valuable help to correctly draw our Stalinist-Hoxhaist demarcation-line against Maoist / Chinese revisionism. Its reading must be completed by that of the other documents of the Comintern (SH) which - all together – constitute a single whole and mutually complement each other.

Unmasking revisionism and neo-revisionism was very hard in the beginning, but now, when we have already revealed the basic knowledge about it, everybody can learn from it and make one's decision. This was also true concerning comrade Enver Hoxha – specially, how long did he hope for the better changing in China before he draw his demarcation-line.

Many "comrades" from various countries of the world declare that they got rid of Maoism, but if we analyze their political work than we find a lot of reconciliationist garbage - hidden garbage is the most dangerous garbage. To teach patiently Stalinism-

Hoxhaism to all comrades all over the world is the only manner through which they can get totally and definitively rid of Maoism, but we cannot do this instead of them. They must do this by themselves.

We must continue our war against Maoism until it is destroyed in the brains of comrades - as comrade Enver Hoxha taught us.

In the first period of the Marxist-Leninist world movement, modern revisionism seemed to be unmasked and defeated. But Mao saved it by means of the “Mao Zedong-Thought”. As long as capitalism-imperialism exists and world bourgeois class dominates, also Maoist / Chinese revisionism will be backed by it. Our anti-Maoist struggle is therefore part of our struggle for the socialist world revolution against which Maoism is fabricated and directed by the bourgeoisie.

Our anti-Maoism is the only authentic one because it is **exceptionally** based on the correct application of the proletarian class teachings of the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism. And to faithfully apply these invincible teachings in all spheres of life is the only manner to abolish the inevitability of the system that inevitably gives birth to Maoism and to all other kinds of revisionism, neo-revisionism and anti-communism: capitalism-imperialism. In previous chapters of DWM and in other articles, we already proved that Maoism is a direct product of this system. And in this DWM IV, we demonstrated that also all false non-Stalinist-Hoxhaist “anti-Maoisms” are also born from the same bourgeois-wage slavagist system and their aim is to perpetuate it, not to destroy it. Therefore, their anti-communist essence is equal to that of Maoism / Chinese revisionism.

Only by faithfully following Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism-Hoxhaism is possible to make world armed violent socialist proletarian revolution triumph. And nowadays, the faithful following of MLSH necessarily involves the creation of a Section of the Comintern (SH) in each country of the world always under the global centralized proletarian leadership of that same Comintern (SH). Only in this manner it will be possible to successfully accomplish global proletarian dictatorship, world socialism and world communism. Only in this manner it will be possible to achieve the total and definitive liberation of world proletariat, toilers and other exploited and oppressed classes through the complete annihilation of the globalized exploitative and oppressive capitalist-imperialist system and of the world bourgeois class who dominates it and enormously profits from it.

World exploited and oppressed classes – unite under the steel centralized leadership of the Comintern (SH)!

Don't be deceived neither by the Maoists neither by their false “enemies”!

There are only two possible positions: that of Stalinism-Hoxhaism and that of revisionism, neo-revisionism and anti-socialism!

Everything else is a phony “dilemma” between different kinds of anti-communism!

Maoists and their false “anti-Maoist” ideological twins are all lackeys of the exploitative and oppressive world bourgeois class!

Only Stalinist-Hoxhaist anti-Maoism is authentic!

Maoist revisionism only wants to perpetuate capitalist-imperialist slavery!

Maoism gave birth to Chinese social-imperialism, which exercises excruciating repression over world workers!

The only manner to definitively eliminate Maoism is through combating it from Stalinist-Hoxhaist positions!

Everything else is social-fascist, anti-socialist pro-Maoist garbage!

Struggle against Maoist revisionism and its false “anti-Maoist” ideological twins with all your might!

Down with all kinds of revisionism, neo-revisionism and anti-communism!

Down with predatory wars - forward with revolutionary wars!

Down with all kinds of war, fascism, capitalism, imperialism, exploitation and oppression!

**Long live the 5 Classics of Marxism-Leninism: Marx, Engels,
Lenin, Stalin and Enver Hoxha!**

Death to the world bourgeois class!

Death to globalized enslaving capitalist-imperialist system!

Take your weapons from the imperialists!

**Long live the world red army and its detachments from each
country!**

**Long live world proletarians, workers and all other exploited
and oppressed classes!**

**Long live violent world socialist proletarian revolution – the
locomotive of the future stateless and classless global society!**

Long live armed proletarian dictatorship all over the world!

Long live world socialism and world communism!

Let's form a Section of the Comintern (SH) in each country!

**Long live the Comintern (SH), the only truly communist
organization in the world, the only global vanguard party of
the world proletariat!**

Only in this manner we shall overcome!

4 – Index

1 – Introduction (page 1)

2 – Analysis of different types of false “anti-Maoism” (page 5)

2.1 – Soviet revisionists’ false “anti-Maoism”: its origins and background (page 5)

2.1.1 – On comrade Stalin (page 27)

2.1.2 – On Peaceful Coexistence and on War (page 45)

2.1.3 – On Peaceful Transition to Socialism (page 53)

2.1.4 – Final Remarks (page 60)

2.2 – Trotskyist false “anti-Maoism” (page 78)

2.3 – Maoism and Titoism: false enemies (page 96)

2.4 – The false “anti-Maoism” of Mao’s successors in China (page 108)

2.5 – The false “anti-Maoism” of the Albanian neo-revisionists (page 119)

2.6 – The false “anti-Maoism” of the “4 and ½ heads” neo-revisionists (page 126)

2.7 – The false “anti-Maoism” of standard anti-communists (page 141)

3 – Conclusions: Stalinist-Hoxhaist anti-Maoism - the only authentic one (page 152)

